

THE  
HISTORY  
Of the Troubles of  
SUETHLAND  
AND  
POLAND,

Which occasioned the Expulsion of *Sigismundus* the  
Third, King of those Kingdomes, with his Heires  
for ever from the SÜETHISH Crown.

WITH  
A CONTINUATION OF THOSE  
Troubles, untill the Truce, *An. 1629*. As also, a  
particular Narration of the daily Passages at the last and great  
Treaty of Pacification between those two Kingdomes, con-  
cluded at *Strumb/dorff* in *Prussia*, Anno 1635.

CONCLUDING WITH  
A BREIFE COMMEMORATION OF THE  
Life and Death of  
S<sup>r</sup> *GEORGE DUGLAS* Knight,  
Lord Ambassadour Extraordinary from the late King  
of Great BRITTAINE, for the Treaty  
above mentioned.

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*Faithfully couched by J. FOVVER, Secretary to  
his Lordship for that Embassy.*

---

L O N D O N,  
Printed by *Thomas Roycroft* for *Henry Twysford*, and are to be sold  
at his Shop in Vine Court Middle Temple, 1656.

# HISTORY

Of the Tropics of

SOUTH AND

FOUR

Which occur in the Tropics of 23 degrees the

This BOOK belongs to

GILBERT MOLLESON,

IN

Aldersgate-street, London.

TO HIS HIGHNESSE  
THE  
LORD PROTECTOR,  
MY LORD,



HE remembrance of having read, that a Great *Emperor* was once graciously pleased to accept of an *Apple* from the hand of a poor *Peasant*, hath encouraged me to the presenting of the ensuing *Discourse* unto your *Highnesse*.

As that *Prince* was (doubtless) induced to daign the reception of so slight a *Gift* from so mean a *Giver*, not for any merit either in the *Person* or *Present*, but by the conjecture he made of the dutifull affection wherwith it was Offered; so, I am willing to hope that, the boldness of this address may be the more excusable, in regard, the like affectionate duties, in the most of *submissiveness*, herewith tendered.

Your *Highness* hath moreover (I humbly conceive) a *Peculiar right* hereunto, as being the sole adequate *Paralell* to the famous *Princes* of the *Gustavian Line*, mentioned in the following *Narrative*; for if they were great in *Armes*, which none can deny, and that their *Heroick Actions* have rendred their *Memories* renowned to *Perpetuity*; Your *Highness Name* is certainly engraven in *Characters* indeleble upon the never decaying *Pillars* of *immortall Fame*, whose *Trumpet* hath sounded your more then *Ad-*

A

mirable

mirable *Successes* unto the most *Remote Regions*: Nor, is *Cæsar's Veni, Vidi, Vici*, lesse *illustrated* by your *Hignesse Pourtraict* than it was by his *Statua*.

As *Victory* did constantly accompany the *Second* and great *Gustavus* whilest *living*, and attend him even in *death*, contrary to that observation of the famous *Marquesse of Malvezzi*, That the *death of valiant Leaders is the losse of Battells*; So, it is truly affirmed, that whensoever your *Hignesse* hath led on your *Forces*, your *Foes* have as often *fallen* before you, and the most *Numerous Enemies* that have ever hitherto *dared* to look you in the *Face*, have been alwaies *constrained* to turn their *backs*: Neither can the most *black-mouthed Detraction* gaine-say this *Truth*.

Your *Hignesse* hath one *Advantage* more, which was not by *Providence* permitted unto that Great *Monarch*; in that by the *Protection* of the *All-mighty*, you live to reap the *Fruit* of your *Labours*, in *Praising the God of your Salvation*.

May your *Hignesse*, *Religiously* and *Magnanimously*, still goe on to doe *worthily* in this our *Judah*, and to be *famous* in our *Israel*; and after a continued *Series of Glorious Tryumphs* here below, remain *Tryumphantly Glorious* above in the *Mansions of Eternity*.

So craving Pardon for this Presumption,

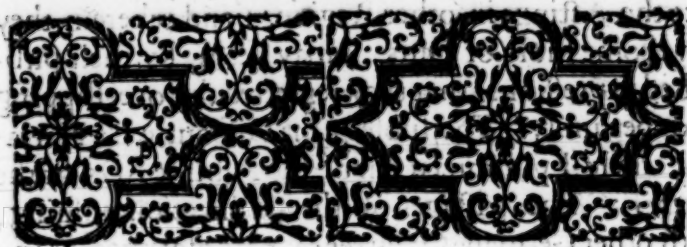
I rest

In all humble Obedience

At your HIGHNESS

Command,

J. FOWLER.



THE  
PREFACE  
OR  
ARGUMENT  
To the ensuing DISCOURSE.

**T**HERE is nothing new under the Sun,  
saith the wisest of Kings. This, as it is in  
it selfe a certaine truth, so it is not more e-  
vident in any thing then in the Stupendious  
alterations which History in generall doth manifest to  
have happened in Kingdomes and Common-wealths,  
even from the Flood; the recapitulation whereof  
would not onely outswell this bulke, but likewise  
tire the Reader, whose curiosity therein may be else-  
where abundantly satisfied.

Many in *England* may perhaps thinke, that the  
Changes we have seen of late years among our selves  
admit of no President. The Pages ensuing will shew o-  
therwise; and that what hath been done of late times  
in this Nation, hath been in great part formerly presen-  
ted upon Forraigne Stages; yea, within the memory

B

of

## The PREFACE.

of Men yet living, if diligent Scruteny were made into the Actings in other Regions, and wherein they have come short of Ours, it may seem, by their published expressions, that they regretted the overslipping of opportunity. The subsequent Discourse is a Narrative truly Epitomized out of the Publike Acts of the *Suetes*: The passages of the Pacification ensuing, with other Germane Occurrences of those times, are no lesse faithfully annexed.

The Method used is, First, A breife mention of *Polands* exaltation from a Ducall to a Regall Government, *An. 1000.* with a particular deduction of their Kings from the time that *Jagello*, great Duke of *Lithuania* (in the right of his Wife) was there Crowned; whose merits toward that Kingdome are still celebrated by the Polanders, and whose Descendants have constantly swayed that Scepter (untill this present) for the space of two hundred sixty nine years: The interposition of *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, afterwards King of *France*, the third of that Name, usually stiled *Henry of Valois*, onely excepted.

*first*  
*Suethland made*  
*hereditary: 1343*  
*by before the*  
The next thing presented is a like deduction of the Kings of *Suethland* (much more ancient then the other in the Title of a Kingdome) from the time of *Magnus Erickson*, surnamed *Smecke*, in favour of whom and of his Posterity the *Suethish* Crowne (always formerly Elective) was rendred Hereditary by a general Act of Union at *Varburg*, *An. 1343.*

*Confirmed: 1544*  
A more strict Hereditary Union is next exhibited in the Raigne of *Gustavus Erickson* (the Deliverer of his Countrey from the slavery of Strangers) and the same confirmed and corroborated by the whole States of *Suethland*, *An. 1544.* in whose Race that Scepter hath ever since remained and doth still continue. Nine Crowned Kings have (within the third degree) descended from his loynes, *Viz. Erick, John, and Charles*,  
his

*The PREFACE.*

his three Sons; *Sigismund* the Son of *John* (King of Poland and Suetland); *Gustavus Adolphus* the Son of *Charles*; the late Queen *Christina* of Suetland; *Adrian* and *Casimir*, the Sons of *Sigismund*; Consecutively Kings of Poland; and the present King of *Suetland*; *Carolus Gustavus*, great Grand-child to the forenamed *Gustavus Erickson*, as being the Son of the Princess *Catherine* Daughter to the forenamed *Charles*, who All act their parts in the Scenes of the ensuing Narrative.

The Marriage of *John* forenamed, then Duke of *Poland* (afterwards King of *Sagblant*) with a Royall Virgin of the Polish *Jagellonia* Race, and the Election (by vertue of that Allyance) of *Sigismund* their Eldest to the Regall Chaire of *Poland*, with his Coronation in *Suetland* after his Fathers decease, follows next in order.

The dissensions afterwards arising between King *Sigismundus* and his Subjects of *Suetland* are mentioned: His taking up Armes; Their opposition and raising of Forces, under the Conduct of his Uncle *Charles* (then Duke of *Sudermannia*, &c.) by them Parliamtarily Constituted Governour of *Suetland*, is demonstrated.

The heads of the severall Letters which passed between that King and his said Uncle in that conjuncture (and even when the Armies of both sides were in the Feild, and in sight of each other) are touched: The Kings bad successe; the accord ensuing between them, with his Retreat into *Poland*, contrary thereunto, set forth: Contents of their subsequent (as well as preceding) Acts of Parliament, inserted: Their renouncing of Fidelity and Subjection to him and his Heirs for ever, with their exaltation of the forenamed Duke *Charles* unto his Nephews Throne, manifested: The Warrs (thereupon) between them (with advantage to

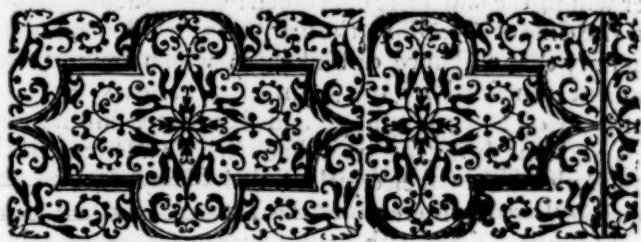
## The PREFACE.

to the *Suebians*) and upon other intervenient occasions,  
a Truce mediated and concluded for six years, *An. 1619.*  
hindered.

- That Truce neer expiring, a second Treaty being set  
on foot, *An. 1634.* for a finall Peace or longer Truce,  
and the latter for six and twenty years, assented unto  
by both Parties the year following, the daily passages  
thereof are faithfully couched.

- Lastly, A breife Commemoration of the Ambassa-  
dor; who, from *England*, did Mediate that Truce: A  
touch likewise of sundry (as afore sayd) Emergencies  
in *Germany* (relating to *Englands* and the Protestant In-  
terest there in those times) not unnecessary for the bet-  
ter understanding of Passages referring, as well to the  
sayd Treaty, as to the Ambassadors Person and Death,  
wherein sundry occurrences not usuall may be obser-  
ved, with a cursory mention of the now Raigning  
Princes of *Suebland* and *Poland*, and the present posture  
of affaires in those Nations, conclude the Triple Nar-  
rative.

SUETHLAND



# SUETHLAND AND POLANDS TROUBLES;

Preceding, Causing, and Ensuing the Expulsion of King SIGISMUND the Third from the Crown of SUETHLAND.

*The Rise of the WARS between Suethland and Poland.*



THE Crown of *Poland* (as also that of *Suethland*; untill of latter Ages) hath ever been and still is Elective; and albeit not neer so ancient as the other (in the Title of a King; yet at present, not of consideration inferiour to most in *Christendom*; the same being the only Bulwark in those parts against the increaching power of the insulting *Turk*, and his Blood-hound the numerous over-running *Tartar*.

Unto the time of *Boleslaus* (sur-named) *Chrobrus*, that Country was governed somtimes by *Dukes*, otherwhiles by *Palatines*: But *Orto* the Third, the *Germane* Emperour (who in the year 997. first instituted the Colledge of Electors for the choice of future Successors to the Imperiall Crown) after an expedition by him made into *Italy*, undertaking a Journey into *Poland* to visite the Tomb of *S. Adelbert*, and being there Magnificently received and entertained by the said *Boleslaus*; in requittall thereof, and to tye him in the more strickt Bonds of Amity towards himself and the *Roman* Empire: Of Duke, stiled and Crowned him King of *Poland*, about the year of Grace 1000.

*Poland erected into a Kingdom, An. 1000.*

C

After

Sealed elective,  
An. 1295.

After whom the said Title continued by the space of 82. years, unto the time of *Uladislaus* the first, who abandoned the same, using only that of Prince, or Duke; in which frame the Government remained for the term of 213. years, at the end wherof *Lesus Niger* deceasing (and that State, distracted into divers Factions, being for some time without a Prince) the supreme Rule was at last electively settled upon *Primislaus* (surname'd) *Posthumus*, who resumed the Title of King. An. 1295.

Commencement  
of the Jagello-  
nian Race in  
Poland.

That Royall Title hath been (ever since) retained by his Successors, yet not fully established untill the Reign of *Casimir* the second, stiled the Great; after whose death his Nephew *Lewis*, King of *Hungaria* (son to *Charles* King therof, by *Elizabeth*, Sister of the said *Casimir*) succeeding electively to the Regall Chair of *Poland*, deceased without Heirs Males, and *Mary* eldest Daughter of the said *Lewis*, being chosen Queen of *Hungaria*; *Hedwigis* the younger, was elected to the Crown of *Poland*, and married unto *Jagello*, great Duke of *Lithuania*, who in contemplation of the said Match and the Crown of *Poland*, wherunto he was therby advanced, became a Christian in the year 1281 by the name of *Uladislaus* the fifth, and wrought so with his Subjects the *Lithuanians*, as that they also embraced the Christian Profession; and likewise united his said Duchy of *Lithuania*, with *Samogitia*, and that part of *Roxoania* which was under his obedience, unto the Crown of *Poland* for ever. To which three conditions he was obliged by the Articles of his Marriage.

*Lithuania*  
Christianized.

The first was forthwith, the second soon after effected, albeit not without reluctancy, as may be conceived, while a People is rooted and thereby become obstinate in Idolatry.

The third point, the Union, was yet more hard to compass and took more time of deliberation, neither was it fully accomplished untill of latter years. For the Princes of the Race of *Jagello* (who after him succeeded to the Crown of *Poland*) being unwilling to deprive their Posterity of their Hereditary Estates, and to submit the same to the election of the *Polanders*, least being pre-termitted therein, they might remain deprived of their ancient Patrimonieall Rights and Dignities, deferred the fulfilling therof from one time to another, allading that the States and people of *Lithuania* would not consent therto, as apprehending future prejudice by that Conjunction.

Incorporated by  
union into Po-  
land.

But at last, seeing that of the one side their Princes Males began to fail (as they did in the time of *Sigismundus Augustus*) and on the other part apprehending the power of the *Russians*, and the renewing of former pretensions; the *Lithuanians* condescended to the Union, in the Reign of the said *Sigismundus*, who procured that the *Lithuanian* Bishops, the *Palatines* and a certain

A certain number of *Castellans* should have Session and Vote in the Parliaments of *Poland* at the election of their Kings, and all other Priviledges which the Native *Polonians* have, wherby the Rights of the *Lithuanian* Princes to their Patrimoniall Estates might seem secured.

It may be generally observed that in those Elective Kingdoms, regard is had to the next in right line, unless known to be unfit and unworthy of so great a Power, as is apparent in *Hungaria*, *Bohemia*, and *Suetland* (before the same became Hereditary) in *Denmark* also, and in *Russia* most usually, and at present is and hath been practised in *Germany* since the time of *Charles* the fifth.

*In Kingdoms elective, regard usually had to the next in line.*

By virtue of this regard to the Progeny of well deserving Princes, the *Jagellonian* Posterity hath continued successively elected to the Crown of *Poland*, ever since his death, about 137. years, under the Raig of six Kings; *Viz.* *Vladislaus* the sixth, his Son; *Casimir* Son to the said *Vladislaus*, *John Albert* second Son of *Casimir*, (the elder being pre-termitted by reason of his embracing the Crowns of *Hungaria* and *Bohemia*) *Alexander* the third Brother, and these two dying without Issue, *Sigismund* fourth Son of the said *Casimir* succeeded, and to him, his Son *Sigismundus* (the second sur-named) *Augustus* the last Prince of the Issue Male of *Jagello*, who deceased about the year 1573.

*Succession of the Jagellonian Race in Poland.*

After him was chosen *Henry* of *Valois* Duke of *Anjou*, second Son to *Henry* the second King of *France*: The only meer stranger to the blood in all the Catalogue of the *Polish* Kings, who secretly deserting that Crown and Kingdom (upon notice of the death of his Brother *Charles* the ninth) conveyed himself privily into *France*, where *An.* 1574. he succeeded by the name of *Henry de Valois*, his Raig in *Poland* not during one whole year.

*Sigismundus Augustus* had left (albeit no Sons to whom that Crown might accrue) two Sisters, of whom *Anise* the elder was wedded to *Stephen Bathor* Prince of *Transylvania*, an unequal Match, her years (much exceeding his) considered. He was therupon chosen King of *Poland*, *An.* 1579. having been also recommended to that Crown by *Amurath* the third, then Emperor of *Turkie*, which administred occasion to the proud Sultan of boasting that he had given the *Polanders* a King.

During the Raig of *Sigismund Augustus*, *John* Duke of *Finland*, brother to *Erick* King of *Suetland* had been sent into *Poland* to treat a Marriage between his Brother and *Catherine* the second Sister of the said *Sigismund*; but upon his Brother *Erick's* mean and unworthy matching with another, himself espoused that Princess in the year 1562. by means wherof *Sigismundus* (their first-born) being descended from the *Jagellonian*

*Alliance (the Initiation of conjunction) between Poland and Suetland.*

nian Regall Race was (upon the death of *Stephen*) preferred before all the other *Candidates* (as the Duke of *Parma*, the Arch-Duke *Ernest* of *Austria*, the *Wayvode* of *Transylvania*, and his Kinsman the Cardinall *Bathory*) to the Scepter of *Poland*, and was there Crowned during the life of his Father *John*, who (having seised his Brother King *Erick*, whom he kept in Prison untill his death) then raigned in *Suetland*, as will appear more particularly, when the *Suetish* Princes of the *Gustavian* Race shall be deduced, which now follows in order to the matter in hand.

*Suetland an  
ancient King-  
dom.*

*Suetland* according to *Bureus* (a Native there) is a most ancient Kingdom, the people wherof issue from that *Scandia*, or *Scandinavia*, comprehending the two Northern Countries of *Sueten* and *Norway*: Ancient Writers have called the same the Shop of Nations, and some have teamed it the Magazine or Storehouse of People, for from thence flowed not only those Warlike *Suevians*, *Normans*, *Vandalls*, but likewise the Terrors and Tamers of the World, the Stock or Race of the (home-bred *Goths* and *Suetes*, the) *Visi-goths*, or *Westro-goths*, and *Ostro-goths*, who having penetrated into sundry Realms, and wearied out not a few of the *European* Kingdoms with often renewed Wars, seated themselves at last in *Spain*, where they continue (even hitherto) their Empire.

*Gothland* (if I may use the words of *Johannes Magnus*) seated between the *Suetes* and *Danes*, too mighty and scarce ever well agreeing Nations, fearing least if the same were infested by both, it should be constrained to an unequall defence, did enter into a perpetuall conjunction of Amity and Society with the *Suetes*, either in regard of their Potency, or the conformity between them of dispositions and manner of living. Thus far be.

*Jornandes* (according to *Eureus*) writeth, that *Rudolphus* King of *Scandia* leaving his owne Kingdome, went into *Italy* to visite *Theodoricke* a King of the *Goths* there, & was (as saith the said *Bureus*) the 85. King of the *Suetes*. It is likewise apparent (say their Authors) that the *Goths* were in *Gracia* and *Thracia* before the time of *Alexander* the Great, whom he pronounced were a people to be shunned. They were also (before the birth of Christ) a terrour to the *Romans*, by means of whom they dared not to extend their bounds beyond the *Danubius*: And even the *Romans* themselves, not concealing the Military vertue of others, that they might extoll their owne, have recorded to posterity how the *Visi-goths* and *Ostro-goths* had like a deluge overflowed other Nations, under their severall Princes, the *Theodorick's*, *Attalarick's*, *Totila's*, *Tesa's*, *Radagir's*, *Alarick's*, *Attulph's*, *Sigerick's*, *Vallia's*, *Roderick's*, and other like cognominations.

The

The same Author saith further, that from the time of the first introduction of Monarchie amongst the *Suetbes*, both the Nations, *viz.* they and the *Gothes* were subject (mostly) to one and the same Prince, and became as one and the same people; and howbeit that sometimes (through emulation) they might have distinct Princes, yet those breaches were seldom long lasting, but they re-peiced and renewed their former concord, with mutuall force opposing each others enemies. Neither may it seem unworthy of recordation that the *Gothes*, who were so famous amongst all Nations for warlike fortitude, as (in a manner) they became formidable to most in Europe, did neverthelesse so farre submit unto the *Suetbes* remaining in their Native soil, that (as the most ancient Laws of the *Westro-goths* affirme) the power of electing or rejecting a King for both those peoples remained unto those of *Suehland*.

*Alphonſus Carthagenſis* doth also assert the same; saying, albeit the *Gothes* did many times divert to other parts & people, their Rulers who had the government of the whole Nation remained in *Scythia*; now what that *Scythia* is, *Rodericus Sancius* doth explain; saying, that *Isidorus* & other writers agree, concerning the originall of the *Gothes*, that they are of the Island of *Scandia*, to wit, *Scythia Septentrionalis*. And *A. Krantzius*, treating of *Suetbes*, in his first Book and first Chapter, comprehends the summe of those things which were performed by the *Gothes*, after the time of *Alexander the Great*, in these words: The renowne of the *Gothes* in remote Military expeditions was great, and lined with most lofty Titles, for that in contestation with the *Romans* (then most Masters of the knowne world) sometimes repressed they rested quiet; but otherwhiles, they afflicted the *Romans* with greater blowes, and not seldom retired on equall terms: And at last, treading the *Roman* Empire under foot, they overspread *Italy*, and having sackt *Rome*, kept there their Kingdome many yeeres; They infested *Gaul*; layed the foundations of their Monarchie in *Spaine*, and have from thence derived a Stock of most noble Families of Princes. So farr he.

*Wolfgangus Lazius* relates, that out of those *Septentrionall Islands* many and great Bands went frequently toward their people, the *Visi-goths* who had planted themselves in *France*, and the *Ostrogoths* seated in *Illyrica* and *Italy*; yea, that before the destruction of *Troy*, sundry of the *Gothes* being as then in *Thracia*, severall Colonies removed toward them; Nor were those expeditions undertaken constrainedly; but they, allured with the successe of their *Compatriots* in forraigne parts, and with the fame of their exploits, did emulously flock unto them; which being observed by the then Kings of *Suetbes* and *Goths*, Lawes (for preventing the utter desertion of the Originall ter-

ritory) were there enacted, that no persons abandoning their native soile should retaine any inheritance therein; and that (in regard of the uncertainty of the death abroad of such as so removed; and for avoiding the intricacy of contention between their nearest of blood) he, who so departed, should be reputed as dead from that very hower, and his nearest kinsman possessed of the inheritance: And therefore it seemes not consentaneous to reason that the Originall Seats should be subject to the extraneous *Goths*, for if the Kings of that people who warred abroad, had retained a power over them that remained in the Ancient and Paternall Soil; they would not, probably, have permitted that they who marched under their Standarts, and with them underwent the dangers and uncertainties of forraign Warfare, should have been dispossessed of their Inheritance at home.

*Suetland anciently elective.*

But leaving these things, it is evident from their Authors, that the *Suethes* have anciently been an elective Kingdom, and free to choose either a Native or Stranger to possess the Regal Chair; with this Obligation enjoyned, that the King (who ere he were) should defend the Multitude committed unto him from injury and violence, and should endeavour the enforcement and observation of their Laws, ancient Customs, rightfull Constitutions and Priviledges, according to the received custom in all well regulated Nations: Notwithstanding which freedom of Election, they alwaies made choice of the Son to succeed the Father, where they found the Rayes of Vertue corresponding to the Royall Dignity, as being conformable to the Laws of *Suetben*, and the continued Annals of that Regions History.

The truth hereof may appear by the Royall Progeny of *Ericus Suetben*, whose Son *Cannus* obtained the Regall Wreath; of King *Suethernus* also, to whom his Sons *Charles* and *John* succeeded; after them *Ericus Balbus*, the Nephew of *Ericus Suetben*, by election ascended the Royall Chair, next whom *Valdemarus* Nephew to *Erick* (last named) by his Sister and *Birgerus* that Illustrious Prince of the *Ostro-goths*, obtained the Scepter, which was afterwards swayed by his Brother *Magnus* (sur-named) *Ladulas*; *Birgerus* the Son of *Magnus* was next elected; and he (ejected for Cruelty and Fratricide) was succeeded by *Magnus Erickson* (his Nephew) surnamed *Smeeke*.

*Vertue and heroick Actions to be preferred to a Crown before all other pretensions.*

The *Suethes*, as themselves assert, have alwaies esteemed that (beyond the Proximity of blood, pretence of hereditary right, or utilitie of friendship) Vertue only and Heroick Actions were worthy of a Crown. This freedom of Sufferages or Votes in the election of their Kings, flourished amongst them many Ages, even untill latter times, wherein they (not moved with the wind of Levity (to use their own words)

but

but induced by the strickt Law of necessity, having first at *Strengnesia* upon the sixth of June, 1523. proclaimed, and afterwards at *Upsall*, on the eighth day of January, 1528. Crowned *Gustavus Ericke* Son (sprung from Illustrious Ancestors, and worthy of the Regall Charge, as having freed them from the Tyranny of *Christierne* the second, King of *Denmark*) did at *Orobrogia*, the fourth of January, 1540. by an Act of hereditary Union of their whole Senatoriall Colledge, with a numerous Circle of the Equestriall Order, assume his Heirs Males (from the first to the last) into a right of Succession: which Act was by the universall States of *Suethland*, assembled in Parliament, confirmed and established at *Arofia*, the 13. of January, 1544.

*Suethland of elective rendred hereditary.*

Thus of Elective, the Crown of *Suethland* became hereditary: Neither did their Rulers thereby obtrude ought of new (or never before practised) upon that Nation, but followed the steps and examples of their Ancestors: For about 200. years before, the whole Orders of that State, had bound and obliged themselves (almost in the same manner) to the forenamed *Magnus Smeeke*, and to his Sons *Ericus* and *Haquinus*, under such limitations and conditions as are contained in the hereditary Union made at *Varburg* in *Holand*, An. 1343: wherunto the Curious are referred.

Yet for the better comprehending of what hath been said, we will deduce the Succession of their Kings from the said *Magnus* (the fourth sur-named) *Smeeke*; who having (in his own time) conferred *Norway* upon his second Son *Haquinus*, was, after the death of *Ericke* his eldest, to whom he had designed the Crown of *Suetben*, ejected by the practises of his Nephew *Albert*, Duke of *Meckleburg*.

*Succession of Suethish Kings from the time of Magnus 4. sur-named Smeeke,*

But by the fore-named *Eureus*, this *Magnus* is taxed of contempt of things sacred, of libidenous lust, and inhumane cruelty, deserving the name of a Spoyler of the Publike: And that he, not brooking the co-partnership of his Sons, which he had seemed to desire, had caused to attempt the murder of his Son *Ericke*, who, the Traytor being suppressed before he could perpetrate the Fact, was soon after poysoned by his Mother *Blanca* (or *Blanche*) a French woman: *Magnus* being not long after taken in Battell by his second Son *Haquin* King of *Norway*, yet soon freed, fled into *Denmark*: He intercepted the Dutchels of *Holslein* his Sons betroathed, and obtruded upon him *Margaret* of *Denmark*, & whilst he prepared greater Forces, he thundred out Proscriptions against the *Suethish* Nobility.

*Albert* Duke of *Meckleburg*, Son of *Euphemia*, Sister of the said *Magnus*, was by the proscribed Peers (in prejudice of *Haquin* King of *Norway*) elected to the Crown of *Suethland*, in the year 1363. but being afterwards vanquished, An. 1387. by *Margaret* Queen of *Denmark* and *Norway*; the Widow of *Haquin* fore-named, after seven years detention (desirous to regain his liberty)

*Albert of Meckleburg.*

Margaret of  
Denmark and  
Norway,  
Queen also of  
Suetthen.

liberty) to her he resigned the Kingdome.

Margaret Queen of Denmark, Suetland, and Norway (by some stiled the *Semiramis* of Germany) having united the three Kindoms under her Sovereignty, caused an Act of State to be passed in *Calmar*, for a perpetuation of the said Union to her Successors, the Laws & Priviledges of each Kingdom reserved entire: She is by the *Suetthes* taxed of extream covetousness and of breach of promise; hated of them, she departed into Denmark, having by threats and terrours obtained the Kingdom for her Nephew *Ericke*, a youth of fourteen years of age: It was she, who being admonished not to commit the Forts of the Kingdom unto Strangers, contrary to her agreement; replied, *Keep you those Our Covenants the best you can, We will take care for the securing of the Castles.*

Ericke of Po-  
merania,

She (being dead) was succeeded by *Ericke* Duke of Pomerania, in the year 1411. by vertue of the said Union, and of his Adoption by the fore-named Margaret, being the Son of her Sister *Ingelburgis*: He Raigned over the three Kingdoms, but was expelled from them all by a strong faction, as some say; Others (as the fore-named *Suetthish* Author) that enleavened by his Aunt, he was a Violater of promises, an Extirpator of the Nobility by extraneous Wars and unseasonable tempestuous Navigations, a Spoyler at home: He had for Antagonist, *Engilbert* a Prince, elected out of the Nobility of the *Dalicarles*, and he being bereaved of life by Danish treachery, *Carolus Canutus* was appointed Governor of the Kingdom. He fled into Denmark and (there also hated) attempting a return into Suetthen, seized on *Gothland*, from thence infesting the *Aquilonian* Navigators with Piracies: At last besieged by *Carolus Canutus*, and distrusting the *Danes*, he retired to his ancient Inheritance and rest when he had Raigned from his Coronation fourteen years, this hapned, *An. 1433.*

Christophor  
Count Pala-  
tine,

Christophor Count Palatine, and Duke of *Bavaria* in title only, Son of another Lady Margaret, Sister of *Ericke* forenamed, promoted by the endeavours of the *Danes*, and their exceeding commendation, was (not without much reluctancy) consented unto by the *Suetthes*, in the year 1442. His laudable beginnings, by desention and mutuall supplantings, changing to worse; he prepared by craft to have surprised *Lubecke*, but in vain, for suffering Shipwrack on the *Suetthish* shoar, he was necessitated to quit the design of attempting upon the *Vandalian* Cities: His libidinous desires were by divine Justice punished with Famine and a Plague through the Kingdom, himself having lost by Sea the treasure he exported from Suetthen, deceased in Denmark without Issue, *An. 1448.*

Carolus Ca-  
nutus,

*Carolus Canutus*, the Governor forenamed, after a vacancy of some years (albeit not of the chieft of the Nobility)

was

## SUETHLAND and POLAND.

was by the great Ones, who disdained an extraneous Yoak, Crowned King, *An. 1458*. He subdued the *Norwegians*, and sorely vexed the *Danes* then waging War: The people, moved by the insolency of his Commanders (the Arch-bishop of *Ubsall* sounding the All-arme) make insurrection, and whilest *Charls* retired to *Dantzic* to crave aid of the *Polish* King, they call in and Crown *Christierne* of *Denmark*: In the mean time *Catillus* (Nephew to the Arch-bishop) Prelate of *Lincopia*, turning Souldier, gathers Forces from severall parts of the Countrey, and expels all that favoured *Christierne*: and having defeated himself in a memorable Battell given upon the Ice, he recalled *Charles* out of *Prussia*, who recovered the favour of the people, and placed over them more mild Governors; and finally, full of Honour both for his Vertues and his Raign, deceased *An. 1470*.

After *Charls*, some place the fore-mentioned *Christierne*, called in by a Faction of the *Suethes*, but soon again ejected, and the Kingdom governed for a time by Marshals: yet he, by promises drew the *Norwegians* to his subjection. After him, his Son *John* King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, in *An. 1458*. was received (say they) by the *Suethes*, whom the *Russians* then overpowered; but their turn served, they forthwith expelled him, returning to their former Government by Marshals. And lastly (they name) *Christierne* the second, the Son of *John*. But *Johannes Magnus*, omitting the three last named (whom he esteems but as Usurpers or Kings of a factious Party) accounts of none but of the three following, who ruled under the notion of Princes only.

*Steno Sture*, Sisters Son to the forenamed *Charles*, having totally routed *Christierne* the first, who had brought a Navy and an Army to the Gate of *Stockholme*, compelled him to desist from attempting upon *Suethen* all his time. He likewise repressed his Son *John*, who had entred the Kingdom, and was Crowned by faction, at such a time when as *Suethland* was infested by the *Russians*, and that Emulation had sprung up between *Steno* and *Suanto*. Afterwards conducting the Queen of *Denmark* (whom he had taken) into *Smaland*, to her Husband King *John*, at a Feast, he contracted sickness, wherof he died in the year 1503. and of his Government the thirtieth: A man of most eminent Vertues, yet (by this) the more eminent, in that he refused the Diadem when offered unto him.

*Suethland governed by Steno Sture.*

*Suanto* Prince of the *Ostro-gothes*, a Counsellour of the Kingdom, was constituted Prince or Governor of *Suethland*: He confederating with the *Lubeckers*, waged War with *Christierne* the second, the Son of *John*, who seemed to be now desired by many, against whom whilst he made greater preparations, he

*Suanto.*

E

departed.

departed this life, *An.* 1512. and of his rule the eight. A man endowed with most choice Vertues, liberall and free from pravius severity.

*Steno Sture the younger.*

*Slain in battell.*

*Steno Sture* the younger, the Son of *Suanto*, prudently evaded the Traps and Snares of *Christierne* the second, by sending *Gaddus* Bishop of *Lincopia* and *Gustavus Erickson* to the Parly, desired by the *Dane*: But whilst he valiantly opposed *Christierne* who had invaded *Suetben* with a new Army, he was, in a most violent conflict, slain with a great shot, and the *Suetbes* being (by his fall) discomfited, *Christierne* was received by the Nobles of the *Danish* Faction, and Crowned, and on his very Coronation day and Feast, beheaded the chief of the Nobility, whom he conceived to be averse unto him; for which outrageous cruelty he was expelled the Kingdom the first month of his Raig, being in the year 1520.

But let it not seem tedious that here be inserted what that excellent Historiographer *Thuanus* hath written more fully concerning these three forementioned *Danish* Kings, *Christierne* the first, *John* his Son, *Christierne* the second, the Son of *John*, who had each (by faction or otherwise) been Crowned over *Suesbland*:

*Christierne first Earl of Oldenburg, made King of Denmark, after of Suetben.*

*John King of Denmark and Suetben, driven out by Suanto.*

*Christierne* the first (the Stock of the ancient Regall Race of *Denmark* being extinct, was (from the Earldom of *Oldenburg*) advanced to the Scepter of *Denmark*, by the Suffrages of that Kingdoms Senators; but chiefly by the recommendation of his Uncle *Adolphus*, Duke of *Holstein*: Sedition arising in *Suetbland*, and *Carolus Caninus* their King being forced to withdraw himself, *Christierne* was called in (by the faction of *John Benedict* Arch-bishop of *Upsall*) and constituted King, from thence came the *Danish* pretensions to the Crown of *Suesbland*. *John* (his Father being dead) held the Kingdom of *Denmark* thirty and two years; and he also (*Steno* the elder, who had succeeded his Uncle *Caninus*, being rejected) was by the tumultuous *Gothes* elected King, but soon after driven out, and being in many Battels defeated by *Suanto*, who through the favour of *Heningius Gaddus*, the stout *Lincopian* Prelate, was substituted to *Steno*, he betook himself into *Denmark*.

*Suanto* dying in the City of *Arofia*, a Prince of so eminent Vertues as not to be equalised by many: his Son *Steno Sture* the younger, after many contentions (as being opposed by *Erius Trollus* of the *Danish* faction) was by the Senators of the Kingdom (the fresh memory of his Fathers merits prevailing) ordained King. Two years after the death of *Suanto*, *Christierne* the second, succeeding his Father *John* in *Denmark*, resolved to pursue by Armes the revenge of those great defeats his Father had sustained; and the pretensions of right to the Crown of *Suesbland*, which he derived by succession from his Father and Grand-father.

*Steno*

*Steno*, being (as he thought) confirmed in the Kingdom, became corrupted by the counsel of flatterers, doing many things amiss, and the minds of the Peers being alienated from him, he lost likewise the love of many of the people: The *Dane* observing this, and conceiving it to be very advantageous to his pretences, raiseth a great Army, and therewith begirt *Stocholme* the Regall City; yet upon the approach of *Steno* he raised the Siege: But when, by reason of contrary winds, he could not in three moneths time transport his Forces back, being oppressed with extream want of all things; from *Steno*, who endeavoured to merit and obtain his friendship, he received supply and permission to retire securely with his Army into *Denmark*.

This exceeding humanity the *Dane* recompenced four years after, with as great (and detestable) ingratitude and treachery: For pretending to a Parly with *Steno*, when but little wanted that he (unwarily) had adventured his person into his Enemies Ship, he (finding himself frustrate of that hope) carried away *Gaddus* and *Gustavus Erickson* (sent by *Steno* to treat with him) Prisoners into *Denmark*, contrary to his faith given.

*Christierne* having thus exhibited a notable testimony of a violated faith, gave in the year following, no less demonstration of cruelty and treachery at once; for falling upon *Westrogothia* with a much greater Army then before, a Battell was fought upon the congealed *Balticke*, wherein *Steno* wounded in the thigh with a great shot forthwith died: And the Generall being slain, the numerous Army of the *Suetbes* was immediatly routed. *Christierne* thus victorious, was received by the Nobles of his Faction, and dignified at *Stocholme* with the Regall Diadem, and on his Coronation-day (fearing least in his absence the Children of *Steno* might be again restored to the Kingdom by the Princes of the adverse party) the City Gates being shut, he caused the chief of all the Orders whom he had invited to the Feast (to the number of ninety four persons) to be beheaded (the people gazing and trembling) and commanded the dead Carcasses to be left (for the more horreur) three daies before the Court gate: Even the body of *Steno*, not long before committed to the Earth, was by order of this new Tyrant again digged up, and with the rest consumed by fire. Last, the Widows and Children of the Murthered were bereaved of their Goods.

This done, he departed from *Stocholme* when he had exercised various cruelties upon many: The *Suetbes* upon the rumor of this Fact, gathering in Armes to the number of 30000. he, through Woods and unwonted Pathes conveyed himself away, yet more by night then day Marches, and hardly at last returned into *Denmark*, where cruelty by so many slaughters, being

Treachery of  
Christierne;  
of Denmark.

Crowned King  
of Suetland.

His inhumane  
cruelty.

And expulsion.

being changed into his nature, when he could not abstain from satiating his Salvage thirst with the blood of his own; he was Warred upon by his Uncle *Fredericke* Duke of *Holstein*, and those of *Lubecke*: And his conscience being terrified, he with his Children and his Wife, the Emperours Sister, fled into *Zea-land*, the third year after the *Stockholmian* butchery, which was *An. 1523.* Thus far out of *Thuanus*.

Gustavus E-  
rickson crown-  
ed in *Sueth-*  
land, *An. 1528*

*Gustavus Erickson* of Illustrious extraction, escaping out of the hands of the *Dane*, did under pretence of soliciting the Affairs of *Steno's* Widow, marry with the Daughter of *Steno*, and by favour of the Princes, assisted also by those of *Lubecke*, attained the Vacant Royalty; but the more easily in having through many personall hazards (as is by the *Suethes* acknowledged) vindicating his bleeding Country from the forenamed unparallel'd Tyrant, and was not only (as hath been said) proclaimed at *Strengnesia* in the year 1523. and Crowned at *Ubsall*, *An. 1528.* but had the Crown also entailed upon his lawfull Male Issue at *Orobrogia*, in the year 1540. which Act of the Senatoriall Colledge, and the Equestriall Order was confirmed at *Arofsa*, in *January 1544.* by the whole States of *Suethen* assembled in Parliament.

Hereditary uni-  
on, with mo-  
tives thereto.

Other Motives there were inducing them therunto (declared by themselves) as the future avoiding of those cruell dissentions and contests with the Senatoriall Colledge, had many times fallen into about the Election of this or that man; of a Native or Stranger, as affection or interest suggested, and power was prevalent, to the unutterable prejudice of the Common-weal, by intestine Seditious, Sanguinolent effusions, and multitudes of other mischiefs tending to the ruine of the Nation, but more particularly since the time of *Magnus Smecke*, in whom failed the Progeny of the ancient *Suethish* Kings, as may be (by what hath been already said) observed.

Further reasons (given by themselves) for their so gratifying this deserving Prince, were his freeing that Kingdom from the horrible darkness of *Romish* Superstition, and being the first who (to use their own expression) sent down from Heaven, brought them into the light of the divine Word: Neither was he less careful of the Kingdoms Laws & Statutes, and of introducing the best waies of Policy; yea, that night and day he studied the good and Emolument of his Subjects by animadvertancies into, and contrivances for their Tillage, Structures, and other Rural advantages, from which they derived plenty of profits, and do therefore record his Providence and Paternall care, with extraordinary testimonies of praise and thankfulness. Nor do they acknowledge him to have been less industrious (howbeit to his own excessive toil) in searching

searching out the Metall Mines, wherwith *Suethen* abounds, or of inventing means for the more easie gaining of them, as artificiall Fabricks, poised Engines of immence weight, usefull *Aqueducts*, and other beneficiall Mountaneous Works: As also in erecting (throughout all *Suethland*) of Work-houses, or houses of Correction, for vagrant and idle people: Neither did his care extend only to things present, and which might occur during his own time, but even to those that might befall his dear Country, when his Princely Spirit should have forsaken its earthly Mansion.

To which end, that he might timely obviate all disturbances in the Kingdom; but especially to decline the Seeds of contention from his Children; He framed a laudable and most Christian Will and Testament, which he imposed strickly as a rule, not only to his Posterity, but even to all the Orders and States of the Kingdom; The bounds wherof they were not any way to exceed: The scope of the said latter Will, was, that his Children and the whole States of *Suethland* should preserve, worship, and zealously maintain, the honour and service of God and his most holy word, even to their utmost, in that manner in which himself by Divine assistance had settled the same, without mixture of humane traditions; and this they were to observe as they hoped for Heaven, or desired to avoid the loss of eternall blessedness: He admonished his Children to continue in mutuall fraternall affection, and each to rest contented with his condition: As also faithfully, diligently, and by all waies and means, to procure the Weal of the Kingdom and people, to study and embrace Peace and Concord, to avoid and (like Poyson) detest the Pest of Suspicion, with those other mischiefs (dissentions, tumults) which like a Torrent flow from that Fountain.

*His Will and Testament.*

Last, he exhorted his Sons, that neither by themselves nor any other, they should procure or permit the limits of the Kingdom (which had been bounded with much blood of their Ancestors) to be in the least sort diminished, but rather to enlarge, and with all their industry, power and might continually descend the same; With such zeal of affection towards the good of his Country, was this most excellent Prince transported: And therefore (say the *Suethes*) they could not but account them for bruits, and unworthy to be numbred amongst the Sons of men, whom such Ardour of Royall Benevolence, did not easame to some gratefull compensation towards so true a Father of his Country and his Posterity.

For the reasons before alledged, the States of *Suethland*, to the end, so large and various benefits might remain in perpetuall memory, and in some measure to testify their thankfulness for the same, did in their forementioned solemn Assembly

Designment of  
the Succession.

at *Arosia*, unanimously ordain and decree, that so soon as this Incomparable *Gustavus* should be translated from this Vale of misery to the Mansions of Eternity, his eldest Son should sway the Scepter, and after him his first-born, and so, that whole Line successively: And that, if it should so happen that the eldest Son should depart this life without heirs Males, then the second Son of this great and good *Gustavus* should ascend the Royall Chair, wherein also his lawfull Male Issue was to succeed so long as any of them should survive: but the Male Posterity of the second likewise failing, the third, and (in the like case) the fourth of the *Gustavian* Virill Race were in the same manner to inherit, according to the Prescript tenour of that Act, wherunto the curious are referred.

There have been the more particularities used in setting down the last Will and Testament of this deserving Prince, because we are now entring, as it were, upon the Threshold of those differences that for so many years caused a vast expence of blood, and Inundations of other Miseries between the two flourishing Kingdoms of *Swethen* and *Poland*, and the rather, because (as the *Swethes* affirm) the breach of most, if not of all the heads of this Testament, gave beginning to those differences by causing the expulsion of his Grand-child, *Sigismundus* (King of *Poland*, with his whole Posterity for ever) from the Crown of *Swethland*, which also gave birth to the promised Treaty of Pacification.

His Wives and  
Issue.

This Royall *Gustavus Erickson* (of whom it may be said, that to his Subjects he was like a second *Titus*, the delight of man-kind) after thirty eight years of a most laudable Raign, changed the same for one more glorious, upon the third of the Calends of October, 1560. By *Catharine*, Daughter of *Magnus* Duke of *Saxony*, he had *Ericke* who succeeded him in the Kingdom. His next Consort was *Margaret* the Daughter of *Ericke Abraham* of *Loholme* Knight, Governour of the *Westro-gothes*, who brought unto him *John* Duke of *Finland* (afterwards King of *Swethland*) *Katherine*, whom he married to *Echardus* Earl of *Frineland*; *Cecilia*, who espoused *Christopher* Marquess of *Baden*, *Magnus*, Duke of the *Ostro-gothes*; *Steno*, who died a Child, *Anna*, wedded to *George Joannes*, Count Palatine of *Rhyne*, and Duke of *Bavaria*; *Charles* who forthwith deceased, *Sophia* married to *Magnus* Duke of *Saxony*, *Elizabeth* Wife unto *Christopher* Duke of *Meckleburg*, and *Charles* Duke of *Sudermania*, *Nericia* & *Wermelandia*; his last Wife was *Catharina* daughter to *Gustavus Olaus* of *Torpa*, Gouvernour of *Westro-gothia*, by whom he had no Issue.

*Ericke* his eldest  
succeeds.

*Ericke* his eldest succeeded and was Crowned, An. 1561. He for sometime waged strong War with the *Danes* and *Lubeckers*, and not only incurred the hatred of his Neighbours, but provoked

voked also the dislike of his own Subjects. He married so meanly (say the *Suetes*) as was not only to the dishonour of his Crown and Race, but likewise to the contempt of his Nobility, whose extirpation he endeavoured, and the perpetration of that horrible Tyranny at *Ubsall*, by the wicked counsell of others, and his own naturally malicious disposition.

*John*, Duke of *Finland*, to whom the waies of *Erick* were little pleasing, having (as hath been said) married the Princess *Catherina*, younger Sister to *Sigismundus Augustus* King of *Poland*, and was thereby allied unto the *Jagellonian* Family, (whose merits towards that Crown have been already mentioned) had lent unto his *Polonian* Brother the sum of an hundred thousand *Rix-dollars*, for which he received (in pledge) certain Forts and Governments in *Leifland*, and so returned to *Revalia* in *Finland*, where he was by his Brother King *Erick*, (who out of a suspicious nature made a sinister construction of Duke *Johns* actions, as intended for a Confederacy with the *Polander* and the *Dane* against him) oppressed with cruell War, and himself with his Wife and Family taken at *Abo*, a Town in *Finland*, and brought to *Stocholme*, where he was publicly accused, many of his Familiars executed; four whole years he was under restraint, but afterwards set at liberty, and the year ensuing (the chance of War being turned) he seized upon his Brother *Erick*, whom he kept incarcerated untill his death. This hapned in the year 1568.

Taken and imprisoned by his brother.

Duke *John* having thus dethroned his elder Brother, was with great applause, and the unanimous consent of the Peers, and all the Orders of *Suethland*, declared King, and Crowned *An. 1569*. He likewise waged War with the *Dane*, but with the *Muscovite* both cruell and long. Toward the end of his Reign, his Son *Sigismundus* descended by his Mother (as hath been shewed) from the *Jagellonian* Race, was elected King of *Poland*, and there Crowned, *An. 1588*. Not long after, *viz. An. 1590*. The former *Orobrogian* and *Arossan* constitutions for hereditary Union were renewed in favour of *Sigismundus* and his lawfull Heirs Males, and they failing in the like to his Brother Prince *John*, which also failing, *Charles* Duke of *Sudermania*, *Nenicia*, and *Wermelandia*, was, with his Male Posterity to succeed.

*John* Duke of *Finland*, King of *Suethland*.

*Sigismund* his eldest elected King of *Poland*, & crowned there 1588.

At this Convention there passed also an absolute exhereditation of the Children of the late King *Erick*, and all his Posterity, for the reasons before expressed.

King *Erickes* Posterity expelled by Parliament.

*John* followed the same Profession (in point of Religion) as did *Gustavus* his Father, which was that of the Evangelicall or Augustane Confession: And albeit his Son *Sigismundus* (instructed by his Mother) had secretly embraced that of

Rome,

Rome, yet did not the Father decline from the *Augustane*, but constituted his Brother Duke *Charles* (who was strongly *Lutheran*) as a pledge to the people, that therein no innovation should be made, having by Testament appointed him for Governor over them, untill the return of *Sigismundus* from Poland.

King *John*, as he observed his Fathers Testament in matter of Religion, so he was no less solicitous, that the *Sueish* Dominion should receive no diminution by his Sons accession to the *Poish* Crown; and to that end he strickly enjoined Earl *Brake* and *Erius Sparre*, whom (at the instance of the *Poanders*) he had sent as Ambassadors to treat and conclude about his Sons Inauguration to that Kingdom, not to consent to ought that might tend to the prejudice or impairing of *Suehland*, as by their instructions dated at *Vastena* the fourth of *May*, 1587. may appear, wherunto the Curious are referred.

This Prince having Rigned three and twenty years, or therabouts, changed his mortall life in *November*, or *December*, *An.* 1592. His memory is celebrated by the *Suehes*, for many benefits conferred upon their Nobility and the people in generall, and for freeing them from the rigid and cruell government of his Brother *Erick*, with the tyranny which other persons (under him) did exercise over them; for which in the fore-cited convention (at *Stocholme*) 1590 they not only confirmed the former hereditary Unions, in favour of his and the forementioned Princes, Heirs Males (as hath been shewed) but further also enacted that if the Nobler Gender of the Royall and Ducall Line should totally fail, the eldest of the unmarried Females of the same should succeed unto the Crown, each in order according to their birth: And that they would not inforce or obtrude upon them any Husband against their own will and consent; nor admit of their alliance with any People, Kingdom, or State that were at enmity with, or sought the prejudice of the *Suehish* Nation, but rather endeavour to match them with some One (who should be acceptable) of the Princely Families of *Germany*, descended from the Illustrious *Gustavian* Race, unlesse the same were prohibited by proximity of blood: And that they would provide the other Regall and Ducall Daughters of Dowries corresponding to their Dignity: Conditionally that they also should not contract Matrimony either with Forraigner or Native, except by the approbation and consent of the States of *Suehland*.

His first Wife (as already said) was *Katherine*, second Daughter to *Sigismund* the first, and Sister to *Sigismund* the second, Kings of Poland, whom he married, *An.* 1562. and had by her *Sigismund* (the third of that name King of Poland and) King of *Suehen*, also one Daughter the Princess *Anna*.

Hereditary union renewed.

Assumption of Females, Male issue failing.

His wives and issue.

In second Bed, he wedded *Gumla*, the Daughter of *John Axell Bielke* of *Heresetter* Knight, Governour of the *Ostro-goths*, in the year 1585. who brought unto him *John*, hereditary Prince of the Kingdom, and ( afterwards ) Duke of *Ostrogothia*, who in the year 1612. took to Wife the Illustrious *Mary*, daughter to the forenamed Duke of *Sudermannia*, &c. but then King of *Suethland*, by the name of *Charles* the ninth.

Thus far hath been for the deduction of the *Polish* Kings from *Boloflaus Chrobrius* the first, but more particularly from ( *Jagello*, or ) *Vladislaus* the fifth of that name, King of *Poland*; as also of the *Suethish* Princes from *Magnus Smoeke*, but chiefly from *Gustavus Erickson*, the Liberator of his Country from extraneous bondage, and the Founder of his Family. & like wise of the alliance therof with *Poland*, with the conjunction of both those Crowns in the person of the last named *Sigismundus*, elected in *Poland*, hereditary of *Suethin*, Crowned in both, which was promised at the beginning of this Narrative. The disjunction and dissensions ensuing thereupon between these two Crowns, follow next in order to be handled.

It will not ( nevertheless ) be unnecessary ( for the better understanding of all the differences between those two Potent Nations ) to insert that, before their latter discords, about the expulsion of *Sigismundus* and his Heirs from the Crown of *Suethland*, severall grudges and jars had been on foot concerning certain parts of *Lesland*; The *Polanders* and *Sueths* having ( both ) incroached thereon, whilest the same was under the *Russian*, each reaching at what lay most commodious for them, and not seldom reaving from one another. Albeit the *Polish* Authors assert that *Joannes Basilides* the great Duke ( or rather Tyrant ) of *Russia*, wherunto all *Lesland* formerly belonged, was forced to quit the same wholly to *Stephen* King of *Poland*, in the year 1588. wherby he became deprived of the best and richest Country of his Empire ( by reason of the Commerce that Province hath in the *Balticke* Sea ) in which was numbered thirty four Castles. Notwithstanding which, the *Sueths* seized on *Tolzeburg*, *Udsenburg*, *Berchelm*, *As* and *Eft*, which they gained from the *Russian*, and from the *Polander*, *Reuell*, and *Badis* in the Province of *Haria*, *Vitenstein* also, the chief Fort in the Dutchy of *Gervanandia*, with the Towns and Palaces of sundry of the Nobility of that Dukedom: To the Dutchy of *Esthonia* the Kings of *Suethen* ( to this day ) insist themselves. The *Polish* Forces had in like manner wrested from the *Sueths* *Karichin*, *Helmeyth*, *Rugen*, and *Parnow*, a fair and well fortified Castle and Town joying to the Sea, all of the Province of *Esthonia* aforesaid. In the Bishoprick of *Habsell*, the *Sueths* had gotten both City and Castle, being the Episcopall Seat: *Lodow* strong Castle, and *Leball* both City and Castle were possessed by

Former grudges  
between Sueth  
land and Poland

their Forces, besides sundry other important places; All which premised, we proceed:

*Ambassadors  
stretching their  
Instructions.*

It hath been already said, that King *John* of *Suethen* had by his instructions enjoyned his fore-named Ambassadors, that no Alienation of ought belonging to the *Suethish* Crown, should be accorded in contemplation of his Sons assumption to that of *Poland*, but rather to break off the Treaty: Notwithstanding which charge the said Ambassadors did act and conclude sundry things contrary therunto; for (say the *Suethes*) in the third Article sworn unto and signed by both parties, at the great Parliament, in or neer *Warsaw*, An. 1587. it is expressly provided, that the King Elect should be bound to incorporate that part of *Livonia* or *Leiffland*, which the King of *Suethland* then possessed, unto *Poland* or *Lithuania*: And the then Queen Dowager of *Poland* (Aunt unto the said elected King) was to secure the same by Caution out of her own peculiar Goods, as well in the Kingdom of *Naples* and the Dutchy of *Baresano*, *Dupano* and *Foggiano*, as out of her Dowry, and any other goods and Possessions, movable or immovable, within or without the Kingdom of *Poland*.

*This first com-  
plaint of the  
Suethes.*

This Concession, which (according to the Stipulation of the Ambassadors) *Sigismund* the King Elect, was to sign at his entry into that Kingdom; the States of *Suethen* object, as the first breach of the *Antall Gustavian* Testament, and that these Transactions were unknown, and contrary to his Fathers mind and will, may appear by a Schedule to his Uncle Duke *Charles* in his Letter from *Calmar*, the second of *December*, 1587: wherein he expresseth to this effect,

*That albeit some weak hopes concerning Leiffland, committing to us and our dear Lord and Father, and without our command or permission, were given to the States of the Kingdom of Poland; yet notwithstanding the Ambassadors of Poland present, with those of the lower house, have ingeniously granted, and by Covenant and Oath have secured Us that no such thing shall be executed of Us, as We also have firmly concluded with Our selfe never to yield up that which the Kingdom of Suethland hath gained, with the blood of many famous men; besides a notable expence of labour, treasure, and time. Dated as above said.*

And in his first Letter to his Father, after his reception of that Crown, dated at *Cracovia* the first of *May*, 1588. he insinuated the same thing, and that he had been urged to declare himself in the matter of *Leiffland*; but that he by the advice of the *Swedes* (then attending him) had answered in these words: That this matter should be wholly deferred, thereby to oblige the *Poles* to forbear the importunity he might otherwise have received

received thereupon; promising withall (to his said Father) never to grant them any further hopes thereof, or to do ought therein contrary to his Majesties mind: And that he had already told them, he would rather renounce the Kingdom by them tendred unto him, then alienate ought of the bounds of his most dear Conuntry, purchased with the blood of so many gallant men of the Suethish Nation.

Death of King John,

His Father King John deceasing (as hath been said) *An.* 1592. Charles (his Uncle) Duke of Sudermannia, &c. before named, took upon him the Government (as next of blood) during the absence of his Nephew. His first Act was, to call to *Stocholme*, and reconcile to himself, sundry Counsellours of the Kingdom, with others of the Senatoriall Order, who had been long in the late Kings displeasure, and who had likewise provoked himself: To them (passing by former Injuries) he granted Letters of security, *An.* 1592. and both from the one and other received Letters Obligatoricall, dated *January* 1593. to joyne unanimously in Counsell and endeavours for the publicke good, and to be in all things assisting and subservient to him the said Duke, reserving their fidelity and obedience to their lawfull hereditary King.

Duke Charles had advertised his Nephew King *Sigismundus* of his Fathers deace, by Letters from *Stocholme*, of the twenty fifth of *November*, 1592: and desired his acceleration withall due conveniency, to receive the Crown of his Native Kingdom: The like he did from *Upsall*, by *Olaus Suerkerus*, the seventh of *March* following; to him he gave instructions to assure his Majesty, that he would contain the Kingdom in peace and tranquility, and so resign the same into his Majesties hands: That he hoped likewise and expected, that his Majesty would maintain his Subjects (of what condition soever) in the true Religion and Divine Worship, as also preserve inviolably the Laws of *Suethland*, with all the Priviledges granted by his Predecessors in each, and all the points and Articles of every of them, with severall other circumstances contained in those Instructions, the whole in thirteen Heads or Sections.

King Sigismund advertised thereof by Duke Charles,

Not long after, King *Sigismundus* so desiring, *Turo Bielke* of *Nymes* was by Duke Charles, sent Ambassador into *Poland*, with Letters and Instructions, dated the 26th of *May*, 1593: importing as before, preservation of Religion, as established in the latter times of *Gustavus Erickson*, and the first of King *John*; and as the same had been lately approved and confirmed at a generall Synod held at *Upsall*, the maintenance of Laws and Liberties to great and small, poor and rich were likewise inserted; and security thereof (with other points touched in the said Instructions) to be by the Ambassador humbly desired under the Royall Signature.

The twenty seventh of *July* following, *Ericus Sparre*, and *claudius*

*Claudius Bielke*, were sent to *Dantzic* with other Letters, and a Fleet to receive and attend his Majesty honourably into *Suetthen*.

*Sigismundus* returned answer by *Turo Bielke*, referring the Peace to ensue with the *Russian* (which had likewise been touched upon in the fore-cited Instructions) and the security desired by the Prince and Counsellours of State, in the name of all the Orders of *Suetthen*, untill his arrivall and Coronation there, at which time he would confirm to every one freedom of his Religion, observation of the *Suetthish* Laws, retention of ancient Priviledges and Liberties, not prejudiciall to the Regall and Ducal Succession, with all other things convenient to be secured unto them, under his hand and Seal, and that the same might be then done much better and more commodiously then at such a distance. These were dated at *Dantzic* the eighteenth of *August*, 1592.

Second complaint of the Suetthes.

But the *Suetthes* complain in that he gave not present affecuation in the point of Religion, and those other things desired in the Ambassadoriall Instructions, but that (over-passing them) he proceeded on his Voyage; wherby (say they) he not obscurely discovered, that either he would not give, or not observe (when given) any such security, especially touching Religion. It was likewise observed, that the Duke meeting King *Sigismundus* and his Queen, upon their landing at the Bridge of *Stocholme*, after congratulation of their safe arrivall, with a long Oration, did admonish him so to receive and govern his Hereditary Kingdom, as he might with a good conscience answer before God and the World, and particularly those of the *Suetthish* Nation: Wherunto the King gave but small regard, and made but a short reply.

The Coronation time approaching, and the chief of all the Orders repairing to *Stocholme* to attend the King to *Ubsall*, where that Solemnity is usually performed: They besought him to confirm their Liberties and Priviledges: Which he, whilst there remaining, delayed with uncertain hopes; wherewith the whole Politicall and Ecclesiasticall Orders being moved, did by Letters and Emisaries Solicite the Duke to mediate with his Majesty not to procrastinate longer, but to dispatch those and other Emergent Affairs, lest longer delays might beget some stop to the Regall Ceremony; and some of the said severall Orders were in the name of the rest, deputed unto his Highness (then at *Gripshold* Castle) to request his repair to the Solemnity, and his Intervention with the King for their satisfaction: Wherupon the Duke by Letters of the nineteenth of *January*, 1594. did in most faithfull and friendly manner advise his Majesty, to take the desires of the States into his serious consideration.

King

King *Sigismundus*, nevertheless still delayed, untill almost the Coronations Eve, from whence they gathered that he had no propension to their desires, especially in the matter of Religion, seeing that, notwithstanding all instances used both by the Duke and Senators, seven weeks were wasted before ought could be effected, or the Coronation celebrated: Which consumption of time was chiefly imputed to the obstinacy of *Francisco de Malaspina* the Pontificall Legate, who by injunction from the *Romish* Prelate, severely prohibited his assent, but was at last constrained to advise and perswade the King to grant (unto the States of *Suethland*) the Assurance desired, which he was the rather induced unto, as having (on his Holiness behalf) one starting hole remaining; to wit, *That Faith was not to be kept towards Hereticks*: which (say they) was afterwards verified; and that King *Sigismundus* observed no Covenant contained in his Coronation Oath, or in his Letters of Assurance.

It is (by them, and not without detestation) likewise affirmed, that *Sigismundus* intending mischief to the Duke his Uncle, appointed some Ensigns of *Heyducks* to lye in wait to murder him; which had been effected, but that a certain person (*Hieronimo Strozzi*) discovered the design, and that this not succeeding, a second plot was hatched to have been perpetrated by *Italians* in disguise, by means of a Comedy to have been by them acted (with naked Swords, a thing unusuall) amongst whom was *Salvator Fabriz*, Authour of, and Actor in that Scene which should have ushered in the fatal Tragedy; and that this cursed Plot is testified and confirmed, by *James Tipotius* a great Sectator of the *Romish* Religion, and not ignorant of the designs of the Jesuites and Polanders, himself being then at *Ubsall*. But the Duke by his absence from those sights (contrary to expectation) prevented the intended butchery.

*Criminations by the Suethes against King Sigismund.*

Neither (say they) were those Trayterous Counsellours, who afterwards induced King *Sigismundus* to infect his Native Soil with armed Bands, unwitting of these treacherous devices: But that it was they who did first blow the coals of this pernicious discord, albeit they kept close sometime; that so, if the Tragedy had taken the wished effect, they might have seemed innocent, and with *Pilate* have justified themselves; but that God of his goodness by withholding the Event did frustrate their Machination.

*And some Senators.*

They likewise assert (for clearing the Duke from suspicion of ambitious affectation of the Crown) that even at *Ubsall* before the Coronation, his Highness was, by many of the States, not once, but often urged and invited to take the Diadem; and this ingemination frequently used *Your Highness is the only remaining Son of King Gustavus; and as your Predecessor* (of

*Crown of Suethland tendered to Duke Charles,*

H

happy

happy memory) appeared a Father and Defender of his Country, so We doubt not, but that your Highness will advance the Common-Weal of Sueten: but from this King Sigismundus We cannot hope for ought of good: Which desire of theirs, Duke Charles not only rejected, but likewise frustrated the purpose of certain of the severall Orders, who would have committed the Raynes of the Sovereign Rule unto Duke John (as then of tender years) who should have been Crowned at the age wherein he might have Legally secured the Liberties of the Suetish Nation. Whence (say they) all people of what Condition soever, may easily collect from what Root these Seeds of discord first sprung: but let us now (with them) turn our Pen and Sicke to the remainder of these growing Weeds:

Further Crimi-  
nations.

They alledge also, that it was apparent wherat *Sigismundus* aimed in bringing such a troop of *Papish* Priests into the Kingdom, the chief of whom was the before-named *Malepina*, who in the Metropolitan Arch-Episcopall Seat of the *Suetes*, *Gothes*, and *Vandals*, did dare to attempt the Crowning of their King, wherein he was withstood by all the Orders of the Kingdom, but mainly by *Adamus Adracanus* Arch-bishop Elect of *Ubsall*, who stoutly shewed that it was contrary to their Statutes, and the Laws of *Suetland*, that any but the *Ubsalian* Prelate should perform that Office, and that before the consummation thereof, it behoved the King to bind himself by Oath to observe those things, which (in the *Augustane* Confession were exhibited to the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, above sixty four years then past, and likewise) had been decreed by *Gustave* and King *John* his Grand-father and Father, as also ordered by a late Synod at *Ubsall* to be observed in *Suetland*, where into no Church other then of that Profession was to be admitted: But that the King (whilest there) might have a private Chappell in his Palace; Whereupon the Legate interceded that (at least) with the Evangelicall Religion, the *Romish* erroneous and idolatrous Superstition might be tolerated; In prejudice of the *Gustavian* admonition and testament, which was not granted.

Sigismund  
crowned King  
of Suetland.

At last, King *Sigismundus* (having attempted all means that might compass his ends, and they failing) received the Regal Ensigns at *Ubsall*, in the year 1594. the fore-named *Andracanus* Officiating, and *Ericus Sparre* Chancellor of the Kingdom, solemnly reciting the form of the Coronation Covenant, whereby he promised to maintain all persons high and low, Clergy and Laity, in the liberty of the received Religion, to maintain Justice and Truth, and to suppress Injustice and Falshood; to pronounce equitable Judgment, and not to prejudice any in Life, Body, or Goods, unless convicted by the Laws of *Sueten*; to govern the same by the advice and counsell of Duke *Charles*, and of the Native (not extraneous) Senators:

Obligatory Ar-  
ticles.

Into



LIBRARY  
OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

*[Handwritten mark]*

Into which number, as also into the command of any Castles, Provinces, or Patrimony, no stranger to be admitted; to raise no new Taxes or Impositions within the Kingdom, except necessity compelled: therby also confirming to the Peers, Clergy, and Inhabitants of *Suebhen*, all former Priviledges, Liberties, and Immunities, and by all means to procure the publike tranquillity and peace. The Clause ensuing being added for conclusion: *This Oath I Religiously promise and Vow to keep to all my Subjects, young, and old, born, and to be born, beloved, or not beloved, present, or absent, no way infringing, but rather consummating the same with all Regall affection; So God be propitious unto my Soul and body.* His Oath.

He gave likewise Letters Affecutoriall to the like effect, to all the States, under his hand and Seal, at *Ubsall* the nineteenth of February, 1594. wherinto the Curious may make inspection. It being intended here to mention only the heads of things most necessary to be inserted, in reference to the ends before proposed. Letters of security.

Contrary to this Oath, King *Sigismundus* is (by them) charged to have erected a Popish Church in the Regall City, to which end, he purchased a Stately Structure of Stone from a stranger there inhabiting: He is likewise taxed for placing Count *Erick* of *Vifingsborg* (a most zealous Adherer to the *Romish* Sect) Governour of *Stocholme* Castle, in which the Regall Ornaments, with the Records of their *Cancellaria*, are usually deposited; as also the Armes, Ammunition, and the great Ordinance of the Kingdom: And in the Port wherof the main body of their Navy was reserved, contrary to his fore-mentioned Letters of Affecuration. Contrary things

To a certain Jesuite, *Adam Steinhall* by name, he committed the *Arcensian* Temple, placing also his *Romish* Priests in the Queens Island, and in the *Vastenar* Monastery, contrary to what he had given under his hand and Seal, to this effect: *That neither in the Ecclesiasticall or Politicall Affairs of that Kingdom, he would use the help of any person who did not profess the Religion then generally received in Suebhen.*

They further argue, that he no sooner returned from his Coronation to *Stocholme*, but that he gave the Raynes unto his *Polish* and other *Romish* affected followers, to enter their Churches, and disturb their Service and Devotions, by tumultuous perambulations in all parts of their Temples, with loud voices and scandalous Gestures (during their Sermons and other Religious Exercises) to the great oppressiion and scandal of minds; yea, to the hazard of mens lives, branding and reviling them with the name of Hereticks, and other infamous and scurrilous Appellations, insomuch as they were constrained to set Guards about their Ministers ascending their Pulpits; and Further Objections.

and complaint being made unto the King of these abuses, the Plaintiffs were dismist with reproaches and contumelious words, no redress at all afforded.

*continued.*

It is moreover objected, that besides extraneous Forces introduced at his Arrival, he ordered others to be brought from *Dantzic* by *Ernest Wejeras*, and other Commanders, furnished as to a declared War; whereby Floods of blood might have over-flowed, if by other weighty Affairs he had not been recalled and induced to return into *Poland*: but what he could not then (say they) effect, he afterwards endeavoured at the *Papall Legatorian* instance, when with a numerous Army he re-entred *Sueten* in the year 1598.

*His second departure from Suetland.*

In this manner do they charge King *Sigismundus*, that he no way observed his Regall Oath and Asscuration in point of Religion: after which he departed the Kingdom (as at first he had done) without the consent and approbation of the States therof; leaving behind a *Romish* affected Governour in his chief Fort and City, besides severall Churches with the *Vassitan* Monestary filled with Jesuites and others of that Erroneous Sect, whereby much dissention arose within the Land soon after his departure.

*Duke Charles sought unto by some Senators.*

Hereupon certain Senators of the Kingdom thought it expedient to write unto the Duke, signifying the Kings departure, and that they had endeavoured to their utmost, that the weighty Affairs of the Realm might have been settled before his Exit, severall wherof remained yet unperfected: That therfore they besought his Highness to afford a helping hand with his wonted Patriorall affection, for the dispatch of things as necessity required. That touching the form of Government, which his Highness had (by Copy communicated unto them, to be) desired of his Majesty, no proceed had been made; as he might happily have understood by *Erick Gustavus* one of their number: That the Regall Ensigns were deposited in the *Stocholmian* Castle, wherof Count *Erick* was appointed Governour, against whom they had protested in his own presence, and had entreated his Majesty to ponder the same more maturely: Other things also were in the said Letter contained, as their most earnest desire for his Highness speedy repair to *stocholme*: These were dated the fifteenth of *July* 1594. and their requests reiterated by a second invitation of the twentieth *ejusdem*.

The Duke returned answer to their first the eighteenth of the same, therein expressing, that albeit most willing (as by duty obliged) to procure his dear Countries good, yet the same seemed a work of no small difficulty, the King having prescribed no direct form of Government, especially in those disturbed times, wherein the publike Treasure was much exhausted

hausted the Kingdom obvious to the inconveniencies of a *Rus-  
sian* War, and uncertain of obtaining a wished Peace; the  
Crown Revenues so diminished (during his Majesties being  
there) as they appeared not a little deficient: That neverthe-  
less he would not be wanting to afford his utmost of counsell  
and assistance for the redress of things amiss, wherunto his  
Propinquity of blood and maturity of years invited him;  
conditionally, that they would joyn with him for the Weal of  
his Majesty and the Kingdom, wherof he desired their speedy  
resolution and compliance to those things that for the said  
ends should be decreed; and that they would not separate  
untill conclusions were taken concerning the frame of future  
Government, to which effect he would (upon their intima-  
tion) speedily repair to *Stockholme*. These were dated from  
*Nicopia*.

In pursuance hereof they again instance unto him, that his  
presence was both their hope and expectation, renewing their  
requests that he would assume the Government. Promising  
that they would not be wanting to their power in Counsell,  
Assistance, security, and Obedience for the good of the King-  
dom, the glory of God, and the Emolument of the Natives.  
This was dated the ninth of *August*, 1594. and signed by *Ni-  
colaus Gyldestierne*, *Gustavus Baner*, *Turo Ericke*, *Hogenschildus Bi-  
elke*, *Claudius Bielke*, and *Gustavus Gabrielis*.

*Again desired  
to assume the  
Government,*

Duke *Charles* thus invited, repaired to *Stockholme*, where, no  
sooner arrived, but he cleared the *Arconsfian* Temple, the City,  
and the Queens Island, of the *Romish* Priests, and likewise de-  
prived their great Patron, Count *Ericke*, of his Command of  
the Regall Castle; for he being a strong Promover of the  
Papall Creed, was formidable to those of the contrary Profes-  
sion, by reason of his power and great Alliances within the  
Kingdom; His Sister being Wife to *Ericke Sparre* the Chancel-  
lour: his Aunt married to *Claudius Flemings* Governour of  
*Finland*, and his Uncles, *Ericke Gustavus*, *Arvidus Gustavus*, and  
*Carolus Gustavus*, were Rulers and Governours of the *Westro-  
gothes*, the *Ostro-gothes*, and *Smaland*, with others of no mean  
power.

*The Duke comes  
to Stockholme.*

To the former Criminations against their King, they add,  
that contrary to his Regall Oath, and promise under his hand  
and Seal, to protect from injury the Poor, as well as the Rich,  
he permitted (without punishment or inquisition made) the  
Nightly Watches to be abused and beaten: The *Polanders* (of  
his Train) to be day and night in Armes; by whom (with  
others of the Natives who delighted in such mischiefs) sundry  
of the said Night-watches being frequently murdered, were  
so found lying in the Streets, others miserably wounded; yea,  
even their houses were unsecure from violence: and not with-

*Further crimi-  
nations against  
Sigismundus.*

standing complaints were many times preferred, yet no redress was granted, nor Justice executed upon the Murtherers.

Sundry other things to the same purpose, they repeat; as the Concession (formerly mentioned) of *Lejland* to the Crown of *Poland*; as also, the diminishing of the Navy and Ordnance, to the great damage of the Common-wealth: And that, unwitting to the Duke or States of the Kingdom; in prejudice also of the *Gustavian* Testament, and the Constitutions of *Calmar*, *An. 1587.* he had transacted with the Neighbour Princes, touching certain most weighty Affairs of *Suethland*; the peculiar Badge or Cognisance wherof he had alienated, requiring by *Ericke Sparre*, his Ambassadour, a dilation or prolonging of the compromissoriall transaction about the said Badge; viz. The three Crowns, which in the year 1591. at the Treaty with the Dane by the River *Flakesiobecke*, had been at their earnest and most instant request suspended untill *An. 1597:* And that *Sigismundus* (by that Embassie sought to attain by treaty from the Dane that which he had formerly (not without much difficulty and suit) obtained from the States of *Suethland*, therby alienating the right of the *Suethes* to those three Crowns, the proper and peculiar Badge, and one of the chief Regalities of the Kingdom, which he ought not to have done.

And this he did (say they) by the persuasions of his said Counsellour *Ericke Sparre*, the better to compass his hostile intentions towards his Uncle the Duke, to the notorious breach of the foresaid Testament; the expresse words wherof are, viz.

*Our dear Sons, not only he, who with his posterity shall succeed us in the Regall Chair, but the rest likewise of our dear Sons, shall neither by themselves apart, or with their familiar Counsellours, Servants, or Subjects, attempt, treat, or decide any Affairs wherein the welfare and honour of the Kingdom are concerned; by concluding of War, Peace, Leagues, or other Concernments of the Common-wealth, of weight and moment, except by the counsell and consent of them all, with approbation of the Prime, States of the Kingdom jointly.*

They further objurgate his causing of Arrest to be made at *Lubecke* (and other *Maratine* Cities) of their Ships and Goods, and spoyling them of their said Goods and Merchandizes: And that, some years past (*Suethland* being afflicted with a great dearth of Corn, wherby many thousands perished, and the residue much exhausted, in their Substance) he, by the counsell of *Steno Baner*, *Olaus Suercherus* and *Lindormias Bond*, severely prohibited those of *Dantzic* and other Sea Ports of the *Polish* Dominion, from administring relief to those of *Suethen*; and at the same time enjoyed those of *Rivell* (albeit incorporated into *Suethland*) not to furnish them with any provision, and sollicitated the like with other *Marine* Places belonging to the *Romish* Empire.

By

By all these things, they shew, that his second departure produced no better fruite then his first (both being without the privy of the States) and that, as his first discession, to receive an Extraneous Crowne, occasioned a conceding of *Leiseland* to the *Polander*; So, his second left them in a confusednesse, without any perfect forme of Government, contrary to his promise; which Comedie (say they) was commenced by those Counsellours who were unwilling to be longer ruled by the *Gustavian* Line, but that themselves might prevent each other in the domination of the parts, whereby would have ensued the ruine of the whole.

King *Sigismundus* (say they) precipitating his departure, had sent to his Uncle, then at *Nycopia*, by *Erick Gustavus* and *Claudius Slatte*, a certain *Plenipotentiary*, importing that, induced by his urgent Affairs and by his promise, he now intended to repair into *Poland*; and that, to the end his Native Country might not be destitute of good Government and Administration of Justice, untill God should grant him a return, he committed the same unto him his said Uncle, as being a Prince Hereditary, and chief among the other Orders of the Kingdom, together with others the faithfull Senators therof, to whom with him this *Plenipotentiary* was joyntly given, to be governed and administred accordingly; Provided, that in the first and chief place, he and they should honour and acknowledge him and his Heirs Males (if any should be) for lawful Heirs and Kings of *Sweethland*; and next to them his Brother *John* Prince of *Finland*, that they should endeavour and by all means procure his and the Kingdoms good, preventing all prejudice and loss by Mature Counsell, and Administer the other affairs of the Kingdom with the joynt Senatorial consent and concordall unanimity conform to the Laws of *Sweethland*, that no damage or detriment might thence redound. But that, they should not celebrate or call any publike Assembly, or Parliament, nor upon any occasion make or enact Laws without his speciall and expresse consent, as being agreeable to and demonstrative from the Reversoriall Letters given unto him by the Duke and Senators: In order wherunto he commanded all and every the Subjects of *Sweethland* and inhabitants therof, of what eminency, degree, or condition soever, to render and perform to his said dear Uncle (as to the chief in Government) and to the Senators, according to the state and dignity of each, all due obedience, honour, and assistance in all things which they should enjoin for the good and emolument of the King and Kingdom, given in the Port of *Elfsnaben* the eighteenth of *July*, 1594.

But this *Plenipotentiary* was by Duke *Charles* rejected as imperfect, and a draught more ample (by Letters from *Nycopia* of

*Plenipotentiary sent unto D. Charles.*

*Prohibition dissolved.*

*Rejected as imperfect.*

of the twenty third *ejusdem* sent to the King for the Regall Assent and Signature, with a Schedule annexed, wherein his Majesty was desired (in case that Peace intended with the *Russian* should not take effect) to consider of some way whereby the Nerves of War might be supplied; Provisions made of Victuall, Ammunition, and other Necessaries equally incident, which with other particulars mentioned in either, are referred to inspection into the Originall by such as are curious.

But the King was gone, before this answer could be tendred unto him, leaving *Suetland* in much disorder: which the Duke considering, and that only a lame form of power and government was left, and that others were ordained with equal, yea, greater power both in *Suetland* and *Finland* (albeit the same appeared not untill his Exit;) So as almost in every Province some or other did rise up, boasting himself Governour in the Royal absence, from which Fountain many misfortunes, mischiefs, and miseries might have flowed: Tumults and dissensions would have sprung up on each side, to the ruine of the publike Weal, unless timely obviated: for the better effecting wherof, the Duke by the Senatoriall Consent, indicted a Parliament at *Sudercopia* against the moneth of *October*, 1595.

Parliament at  
Sudercopia.

To which generall Convention, the whole Senate and Orders of the Kingdoms, Counts, Barons, Bishops, Knights, Gentry, Clergy, Commanders of Forts and Forces, Burgessees, and common people, did emulously flock to consult upon the Urgencies of the Kingdom, wherein (they assert) many things were treated and transacted tending greatly to the good of King *Sigismundus* and the whole Nation, if due execution had not been obstructed.

In these Parliamentary constitutions, after thanks rendred to the Divine goodness, for having (by tollerable conditions) freed them from apprehension of a long and bloody *Russian* War, so as being then in Concord with all their Neighbours, they might more freely endeavour a settling of the like at home which was their aime in that assembly; they unanimously by virtue of their respective Provinciall *Plenipotentiary*, and each for himself particularly, did bind themselves to observe their Oath and promise made to King *Sigismundus*, in the points of Fidelity, and obedience, to him and his Heirs: And that whereas his Majesty at his Coronation, had promised the entire liberty of their Religion, with exclusion of all other, which was not yet effected, and that certain of the *Romanists* had already begun to use threatnings, in confidence of their encrease: They therefore enacted and concluded, that all Conventions publike or private, used by the Papalists or any other Sects, by what notion soever frequented, should be taken away; their Priests and Preachers banished, and to depart the Kingdom

dom within six weeks, after the rising of that present Parliament.

That none of the Commonalty of that, or any other Sect, sepeare from the Profession there generally received, should be admitted to any Office within the Kingdom, but all Pensions toward such to be revoked: yet that they, living peaceably, might still remain and enjoy the Laws, Liberties, and Priviledges of *Suethen*; but if doing otherwise, either in publicke or private, to be punished and exiled as the others were.

That, in reference to the *Vastenan* Monastery, whereas the Regall Asscuration did bear that no Scholastick Exercise or Function Ecclesiasticall, contrary to the *Augustine* Confession, and the *Ubsalian* Synod, celebrated *An. 1593*, should be obstructed upon the Kingdom, or be suffered to impede the received Religion, but that therein the proceedings should be according to the last year of King *Gustavus* (fore-mentioned) and the first of King *John*: Therefore all abuses in the foresaid Monastery, and the present Incumbents were to be thence excluded.

That (furthermore) whereas the most Illustrious Duke *Charles* had then, before all the Orders of the Kingdom, signified that by reason of several notable defects, represented sometimes Orally, and also in the written Paper then exhibited unto them, he desired to be freed from the Government, unless those were removed. They therefore in regard his Highness was a Prince hereditary of the Kingdom, whom it meerly concerned, that the Affairs therof should be rightly and orderly administrated, humbly desired that his Highness would embrace the same for the good and emolument of the King and his Successors, as also of the younger Brethren, and in a word, of the whole Regall and Ducall Heirs, according to the Acts of hereditary Succession; wherby the Subjects and Inhabitants of the Kingdom might (in like manner) freely enjoy the Nations Laws, with their legally acquired Liberties and Priviledges: And that whereas his Highness had consented to undergo the Administration of the Government, with the Senators of the Kingdom joyntly; They (therefore) the respective Orders therof, Ecclesiasticall and Politicall, Nobility, and Commonalty, high, and low, did promise, that to their utmost they would acknowledge and observe his Highness as their Prince and Governour in his Majesties absence, and untill his return into the Kingdom; and accordingly render unto his Highness all lawfull obedience, fidelity, and duty, saluting and intitling him the Governour of the Kingdom: yet no way to any prejudice of the Regall Jurisdiction or Dignity, conform to the litterary transaction, approved of between his Highness and the Kingdoms Senators: Wherefore, that what Affairs soever of weight and moment, relating to that King-

The Duke desired to embrace the Government.

dom, his Majesty should desire to be there expediated; were first, and before all others to be signified unto his Highness and the Senatoriall Colledge: But if otherwise, and whosoever he were who should obtain any Commission, he should have no power of appointing or acting ought in reference therunto, before his Highness and the whole Senatoriall Order were consulted therein, who undoubtedly would therupon conclude and ordain, so as might be most conducing to the honour and advantage of his Majesty and the Kingdom, according to the Oathes and Affecurations alternatively given:

It was concluded also, that no trouble or molestation should accrue to the King, by seeking or desiring any determination or resolution in *Poland* concerning the Affairs of *Suehland*, in regard his Majesty had not (there) those persons neer him, to whom he might commit the expediting of the *Suehish* Affairs; for which cause (they concluded that) all Juridicall Process, Grievances, and Controversies, should be examined & defined within the Kingdom, conform to the Laws of *Suehland* and the Decree relating therunto, published at *Ubsall*, *An: 1593.* which the King himself had confirmed: And that they should not be transmitted into *Poland*, nor that any sentence or resolution (touching them) should be expected thence, but that if any one thought himself injured thereby, he might appeal unto the Kings return, whether that any Regall Sentence given without the Kingdom should obtain execution within the same: Otherwise no man to be prohibited to repair or seek unto the King about his private Affairs, or other things lawfull and rationally, not tending to the prejudice of any, especially of those who sit at the Helme: Provided, that (as aforesaid) the Kings Mandates and Writs should be first directed and addressed unto his Highness and the Senatoriall Order, the execution of them not to be immediatly committed unto any other.

Concerning the Offices of the Kingdom, it was decreed that his Highness and the Senatoriall Colledge, with the counsell and consent of the chief other Orders (whom the matter might concern) should as occasion required, in his Majesties abience, consider of meet persons, so that such men and Servants might be preferred to Offices and Charges in the Kingdom respectively, as did rightly belong and were tied by Oath to the King and to the Common-wealth, and that speciall and serious regard were had to ancient and well deserving persons: As also that none of the Prime Offices of the Nation should be entirely committed to any one, before the Provinciall Inhabitants where such an Officer was requisite, and any others therein contented, might have free Suffrages or Votes, by whom three Candidati or persons elective were

to be named, as the Laws of Suethland ( to the observation wherof his Majesty had sworn) concerning the chief Offices, do in some sort mention, which three persons elected, were to be signified unto his Majesty, out of which number he might appoint one whom he best approved of; and if it should so happen, that the King had no rationally lawfull objections against them, and did nevertheless defer the approbation of some one of them, perhaps not without detriment to the Kingdom and the Government therof, his Highness had power to place one of the three (so elected) in the said Office; yet that no Officials formerly perferred by his Majesty, should be dismissed, unless lawfull causes were found; whereby upon due inspection and examination, they might appear worthy of deprivation, neither that any one should be advanced to a greater Plurality of Offices then he could commodiously, and with utility to the Kingdom undergo.

These things being by them enacted, the Duke on the other part, did stipulate in these words.

Duke Charles  
exceptis therof.

*We Charles by the Grace of God, hereditary Prince and Governour of the Kingdom of Suethland, Duke of Sarmannia, Nericia, and Wermelandia; do promise that we will diligently (assisted by the Senatoriall Order, as well of Spirituall as Secular Persons) endeavour to the utmost of our abilities so to manage the Kingdoms Affairs, as we shall know or conceive to be most advantageous to his Majesty, commodious to this our most dear Countrey, beneficiall to the Orders and faithfull Subjects therof, and Emolumentall to all persons: whereby every one may be maintained and protected in the pure Evangelical Religion, according to the Augustane Confession, and the Profession of faith instituted at Ubsall, and agreeable to the Laws of Suethen, and those Priviledges and Prerogatives which each man, conform to his condition, enjoyeth, and hath obtained from precedent Kings and Governours: As also that we will govern the Kingdom of Suethen and the Affairs therof, wholly according to the Oath which his Majesty at his Coronation at Ubsall, did swear to his Subjects, and did secure unto them by writing; and as We with Our best and clearest judgment shall find or can imagine may be profitable to his Majesty and Emolumentary to the Orders and Subjects of the Kingdom, as well of the Clergy as the Laity, even as we desire God assisting, to answer for the same before God, his Majesty, and the (respective) Orders of the Kingdom.*

*Whatsoever likewise shall by Us, with the free advice of the Senators, which without any prejudice they may safely communicate, be approved and concluded ( as We will not decree ought in weighty Affairs relating to the Kingdom, without the Senatoriall Suffrage) We will unanimously maintain and defend, that the same may be preserved firm and irrevocable, to the present and future times: And that We will accordingly, All as One, and One as All, profess and protect the same,*

same, if in process of time it shall be needfull and requisite.

M<sup>u</sup> hath agree-  
ment.

Lastly, in testimony that We do willingly constitute and approve of this transaction, in manner as aforesaid, for the good of his Majesty our most gracious King; the prosperity of the Kingdom and the Inhabitants thereof, and do ordain the same to be unviolably observed word for word, according to the cleer literall sense thereof, without prejudice or violation to the Regall Eminency, and Jurisdiction, and our Oath, as the Laws of Suethen require: We Charles by the grace of God Hereditary Prince, and Governour of the Kingdom of Suethland, Duke of Sudermannia, Nericia, and Wermelandia: And We the Orders of the said Kingdom fore-mentioned, have hereunto affixed our Seals, and subscribed the same with our hands. And if We, or others present, or absent, who have not assisted at this Convention (which We are not willing to impute, as proceeding from pertinaciousness or disobedience) shall refuse to approve with Us, of what before recited, concluded for the Common good of his Majesty and our Countrey, (whereof the Parliament being ended, intimation shal be given to all the Provinces) and that by previous information and admonition, they shall not offer or produce any lawfull reasons in contradiction hereunto, which they have liberty to do; We, certainly will send Messengers unto them, and apprehend them for non-conforming and disturbing Ministers of the Kingdom; and whosoever shall not adjoyn themselves hereto, if constituted in any of the Eminent Offices of the Kingdom, We will endeavour to diminish their publike Authority and Power, as We shall judge consentaneous to equity and reason; least the Kingdom of Suethland, should from thence receive detriment and seeds of dissention. In like manner they who shall detract or apostatize from this our generall, free, and unanimous Transaction; Whether for favour of great Ones, peculiar profit, or other causes, under what notion soever comprehended, or shall refuse to contribute their endeavours hereunto, whereby force, secretly, or openly may be obstructed by any whosoever, in prejudice of what his Majesty hath given asscuration to the Kingdom, and wherupon this our Transaction is founded; We shall account them as persons treacherous to the King, and seditious to the Kingdom, perfidious men, and to their Countrey Traytors, and that we will mutually assist each other to their prosecution and extermination. Enacted at Sudercopia the twenty second of October, 1595:

More particularity hath been used in reciting (albeit briefly) the heads of this Parliamentary Act and its conclusions, then is intended with others the like; this being that which King *Sigismundus* (afterwards) so much endeavoured the disannulling of, and which the *Suethes* do so much instance and justify themselves upon.

King Sigismund, displeased.

In this manner was Duke Charles designed Governour of the Kingdom, which was no way pleasing to King *Sigismundus*; who

(suspecting the like) had severely forbidden all men the repair to that Convention, and afterwards endeavoured the frustration thereof, by discouraging and diverting the observances requisite, and partly by Letters Patents, partly by threatnings, by promises and rewards, he drew sundry to his party.

But the States of the Kingdom, fore-seeing (as they affirm) great disturbances to arise, which were of necessity to be crused, assembled in full body; valuing more the generall good then the Regall Injunctions in prejudice thereof: Albeit severall (and of the *Finlanders* not a few) did decline their appearance: Nor did the King by his Letters only endeavour (say they) the annihilation of this Convention, but likewise stirred up most grievous tumults and dissensions in *Finland*, where, by the Tyranny of the Governour there, so cruell Wars were raised as sundry thousands of innocent Rusticks, Tenants (or Tributaries) of the Crown, were miserably slain for opposing themselves to unheard of Exactions and Military (Stations, or) Quarterings; great numbers of Souldiers being there kept on foot along time, whom the King by the treacherous insinuations of the *Claudius Flemingius*, *Aruidus*, *Ericke*, and *Axell Kurike* allured to his side, arming and incensing them to the ruine of his Country: And when the Countrys grievances were dilated unto him, they were (say they) slighted, and no redress obtained, by means wherof the Souldiers and Subjects exasperated against each other, did rush together with mutuall Wounds and Slaughterings: Many of the fore-mentioned Crown Tenants (or Tributaries) losing not only their Goods but their lives: For the Lawless Souldier first spoyling the Inhabitants of their Possessions, the poor people were provoked to resist force with force; wherby the Militarians finding themselves frustrate of gorging their licentious desires, did with armed Bands assault the unarmed Rural Menie, whom they miserably slaughtered, and (a sad sight to see) extended on Wheels.

These things (say they) thus perpetrated: King *Sigismundus* soon after the *Sudercopian* Parliament, sent as his Ambassadors into *Suethland*, Count *Ericke* of *Visingsburg* with his Uncle *Aruidus Gustavus*, and from the Crown of *Poland* were emitted *Stanislaus Dzialinski* and *Nicolaus Sapieha*, who vehemently accused Duke *Charles*, and those States of the Kingdom that had assisted at the fore-cited Convention, or assented to the conclusions thereof: But because the accusatory Oration of the *Polanders* (albeit most elegantly delivered) with the Criminatory Articles of Count *Ericke*, and *Aruidus Gustavus*, as also the reply to either, and the refutation of the severall particulars in each contained (as well by Duke *Charles*

Sent his Ambassadors into  
Suethen.

L

apart,

apart, as by him and the Senators joyntly) are over-long to be here (*Verbatim*) inserted, I shall refer the more diligently Curious to the Acts themselves long since published, and only deliver the heads of either with as much brevity as the circumstance will permit.

*The Oration.*

**T**He Oration did begin with the comparison of a Kingdom under one Prince, to the body of man united in its Members by such a strickt conjunction, voluntary consent, mutual co-intelligence, and admirable sympathy under the government of the head; that any of them being ill affected, the rest moved with the danger, do with all diligence endeavour its remove; but that they all are joyntly carried on with far more earnestness to preserve the head safe & unhurt, as knowing that upon its welfare, dignity, and authority, the well-being of the whole body depended, and that the same being forsaken by the Members, a totall decay, disturbance of their Order, with the dissolution of the whole, speedily insues.

That the same harmony ought to be between the Subjects of one and the same Prince, and that instructed by the same admirable Office of Nature, they should be lincked with bonds of love, and nourish mutuall Peace and Concord, and not offer, but divert and resist any prejudice that might accrue to either; but chiefly to provide that the Dignity, Authority, and Preheminency of their Prince and Sovereign, as head and Director of the whole body of the Common-wealth should not suffer the least diminution or derogation: And that exhibition of due honour, fidelity, and obedience, should not be wanting in all Services that were to be rendred, especially from the Subjects, in regard that by violation of the Rights of Majesty, or their Usurpation, the Harmony Politick was disturbed, and the Kingdoms ruine must consequently follow, even as the hand or foot indulging themselves, and refusing their service to the head, the same would soon languish, and the whole therewith perish.

He next commemorated severall former Leagues and Alliances between *Poland*, with its dependencies, and *Suethland*, but mainly (as nearest related) that by the present *Sigismundus* the third, King of both the Realmes; but *Suethlands* Nurfling and the true Progeny of the ancient *Suethish* Kings, begotten upon a *Jagellonian Polish Infanta*, and adorned with all Princely gifts, Sanctimony, Piety, Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, Wisdom, and Magnanimity: the patern of all Vertues, mercifull to his Subjects, devout, meek, gracious; To his Friends most friendly, but to his Foes a terrour and destruction.

That to this *Sigis.* the third, Heir, Inaugurated and Crowned

ed King of *Sweethland*, Elected also and Crowned King of *Poland*, and of the great Dukedom of *Lithuania*, the said Nations and People did owe obedience, and did acknowledge honour and reverence as the sole Ruler and Moderator of both the Kingdoms, whose Raigh they wished might exceed *Nestors* years: And that the Orders of both the Kingdoms, ought to take equall care, that as their mutuall peace and tranquillity was (under God) from him to be derived, so the Dignity, Majesty, Regall Rights, and Prerogatives of thier mutuall Prince should be preserved unviolated, with his Majesties particular Rights, Dignity, and Præminency in all things, saving to each Kingdom their own, for otherwise any one might easily judge that neither of the Kingdoms could remain safe and intire.

That the late Parliament at *Warsaw* in *Poland*, understanding what things (there purposely published) had been enacted at the *Sudercopian* Parliament in *Sweethland*: the Senators of *Poland*, with the *Lithuanian* Orders, had appointed this Embassie principally for the neerer conjoyning of those Potent Kingdoms in peace and unity, and as therunto conducing to enquire into the whole matter, as not being of particular concernment to *Sweethland* only, but had like reference to the (not to be violated) Regall Dignity of his Majesty, who was of both those Realms the sole Lord and King, from whom they had obtained permission to treat with his Highness and the Senators of *Sweethen*, in a way of Brotherly Charity and Amity, which is not wont to act rashly.

That the Senators and Orders, of *Poland* and *Lithuania* doubted not but that the Orders of *Sweethen* would continue faithfull toward their King, to whom they were astricted by Nature, by Oath, and hereditary Right, even as they had professed in that *Sudercopian* Enaction: but that notwithstanding they could not but apprehend the intervention of sundry things at that Parliament, which (unless corrected by Mature Counsell) might breed disturbance in the Kingdom; such Initiations usually springing up, when slighting the Lawfull Lord, publike Counsels were convened by another Call, Laws were enacted, the form of Government changed, Ministers placed by the King, removed from their Charge, things peculiar to the Royall Majesty, transferred upon others: All which may easily appear to be full of, and obnoxious to many dangers.

That the *Polonian* and *Lithuania* Orders did conceive the *Sweethen* could not be ignorant of his Majesties affections towards his Paternall Realm, or that he desired to have a regardfull eye unto the good of his Subjects, nor would have refused, but rather granted them a Parliament (if he had seen  
it

it necessarily requisite) that Method and Order consentaneous to the Lawes of the Kingdome might have been observed: It being undeniable that a Convention in a Kingdome cannot be rightly called without the consent, authority, and presence of the King, but that as then no such thing had appeared wanting either in reference to the Kingdome, or its ancient accustomed Lawes and Constitutions, his Majesty having concluded a peace between them and the *Russian*, and so disposed of all things within the Kingdome, as that no detriment or disturbance could rationally be feared.

That the said Convention was not only made without publike necessity impelling, contrary to his Majesties and the *Polish* Senatoriall expectations, and wanted the consent and authority of their lawfull Crowned King, but even contrary to his Edicts prohibiting the same: yea, that many things had been therein enacted diametrically opposite to the Regall Rights and Superiority. As the Call it self in manner as aforesaid: The remove of persons intrusted by the King with Forts, and these committed to others; Exauthorization of the Royall Mandates, coining of money in other (then the Regall) name: Appeals to his Majesty, and therein the Regall Dignity it self many waies circumscribed.

That these things having been weighed in an equall Balance, the Senators and Princes of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, with the respective Orders of the depending Provinces, Dukedomes, and Cities, did by them their Ambassadors earnestly desire his Highness to preserve entire his Majesties Rights and Dignity, wherein the Kingdomes welfare was involved, as their propinquity of blood required; and did also in Brotherly manner admonish and entreat the Senators of *Suehland*, as such to whose vigilancy, prudency, and Fidelity, that Kingdomes care was by him committed and intrusted, to return a diligent demonstration of their duty and fidelity toward their hereditary and crowned King; and by a vigorous resistance of any who affecting Innovations (as in large Empires many times happens) would for private disturb the publike Interest, manifest to the world how freely they had implied the Talent intrusted unto them from Heaven and his Majesty.

That all Innovations in Kingdoms were perilous and pernicious, but especially such as tended to violate the Rights of a lawfull, hereditary crowned King, as might be evidenced by *France*, which by a thirty six, and the Opulent *Belgian* Provinces by a twenty seven years Warr were almost reduced to an utter extermination: And that those Rights neither could nor ought to be impaired, but by that Majesty by whom Kings Raigne and Princes decree Justice. That wicked men did never proceed at first to open height of evil,  
but

but by piecemals plucked up the *Fences*, untill that from faithfull Subjects they had wrested the Power; whereby (having overturned the Kingdome) to augment their owne Wealth and Greatnesse, Which evils had becomed his Highnesse and their Lordships to obviate timely; and to abolish any Laws, Constitutions, or Confederations, contrary to his Crowne, his Dignity, and Regall Rights, and by their prudence and authority, to divert the course of ill undertaken Councells, lest the head thereby weakened, the Kingdomes body might faint and fall into decadence.

That the Duke and Senators of *Suehland* might assure themselves, that his Majesty (albeit at present detained by greater cares for Christendomes universall good) would never intermit his due regard of his native Country, no more then suffer the Rights of Royalty to be disjoynted: But that whatsoever faithfull Subjects should crave in a just and orderly way, (his Dignity preserved) he would undoubtedly grant. That therefore his Highnesse and their Lordships ought to prosecute his Majesty with due returne of Love, observancy, obedience, and faithfull endeavours. The rather, for that his Majesty did no way oppress or burthen them, but like to an indulgent Father, with a minde truly Royall, more prone to mercy then to cruelty, was willing to passe by offences, the more grievous because proceeding from his owne, by whom he ought not to have been injured: Notwithstanding which, he Promised no lesse for the future, then that amidst the Community of Christendomes concerns, whereof *Suehland* did partake, he would endeavour their good; and as a returne of his Highnesse and their Lordships constant and faithfull affections towards his Majesty, was no way doubted of by the respective Orders of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, so the continuance therein was their earnest desire.

That the *Polanders*, as they had abundantly testified by a voluntary conferring their Crowne upon his Majesty, and according to their Nations custome, had vowed unto him their Fortunes, Liberties, life it selfe, so they were now ready to bestow all those, and what else could be dearer unto them, for the vindication of his Regall Rights and Dignity, and would to that end unanimously joyne with his Highnesse, their Lordships, and that Kingdomes Orders, and did promise (as the present Oration might testifie) that they would never be wanting to endeavour the repair of the least injury done to his Majesty, or Kingly name, wherunto they expected and did promise to themselves a mutually assured, and an unintergering concurrence from his Highnesse & the Orders of *Suehland*; from whom, for conclusion, they earnestly desired they might receive an authentique written answer to the severall

heads of their Embassie, wherby their diligence and faithfull delivery of what they had in charge, might be approved to their principles.

In like manner Count *Erieke* and *Arvidus Gustavus* (forenamed) did present certain Articles Criminatoriall against Duke *Charles*, the substance wherof followeth:

*Criminations against Duke Charles by the Ambassadors.*

THAT the chief points of the Ambassadoriall instructions, were to rememorate, how frequently his Majesty after his Coronation, had by Messengers and Letters, dealt with his Highness, concerning a form for governing his hereditary Kingdom during his absence, and that the same had been much and long time disputed between his Majesty and the Senate of *Suebland*, which was at last concluded to be signed and sealed by his Majesty, and had been afterwards sent to his Highness and the Senators.

That albeit his Majesty did then conceive that Ordination to be such, as nothing he could confer (his Prerogative Salved) conducing to the Kingdomes well-being, was therein wanting, he had nevertheless understood partly by Ambassadors, partly by Letters, that his Highness did not *acquiesce* therein, but desired a more ample Plenipotentiary; which as he could not grant, without detriment to the Regall Title, so he had gravely admonished him to forbear such molestious requests, and to rest therewith satisfied, in regard it was not for perpetuity, but in vigour only untill his Majesties return into *Suebland*, which he intended speedily, for disposing, ordering, and reforming things needfull: But that his Highness impatient of deferring the matter so long, had incited the Kingdomes Orders to celebrate the *Sudercopian* Parliament, to gaine by their Suffrages a larger Power: That his Majesty was much displeased that his Subjects (bound to him by Oath of Fidelity) should have appeared contrary to his Edict; or have made conclusions contradictory to his intentions.

Yet that his Highness might see how constantly his Majesty desired the Religious observation of that fraternall mutuall respect, which their proximity of blood imposed; and that the Orders of the Kingdom might perceive his Majesties willingness to a wholesome and timely preventing of all confusions, tending to the disturbance of the Kingdom, he had been pleased to send (besides his Royall Exhortatoriall Letters) Ambassadors fully instructed to interpose and provide for the removing of all brands of dissention; and that the forme of Government his Majesty left at his departure, might be submitted unto, and repugnancies therefrom abstained; especially for that many particulars were inserted in the

Printed

Printed *Sudercopian* Decrees, which seemed to trench upon Treason, by a violation of such things as by the *Swethish* laws did rightly belong to the King : All which, his Majesty did challenge to himselfe and his Posterity, and would so leave unto the Kings his Successors, as from his Progenitors hee had received them; unto the maintenance whereof the Subjects of *Swethen* were bound by the Laws and by Oath.

That the Ambassadors were also to endeavour from his Highness an Antiquation of the *Sudercopian* Decrees that contradicted the fore-specified Ordination, and that he would acquiesce in the Kings former grants and Statutes, and that the Orders and Offices appointed might remaine in full Vigour.

That the Kingdomes Rents might be collected by those thereunto ordained, and to be issued by them, according to his Majesties Orders or Letters granted to any thereupon.

That Officers might be continued in their respective Charge, and that such as have been removed be re-integrated.

That the Crown Forts, Garrisons, Provinces, Cities, Governments, and all other things formerly committed to his Majesties sworne Servants be restored unto them; and that his Highness Servants be removed from them, and receive no stipend from the Crown.

That all regall Protections be had in due regard, and that no person having such, be exposed to Prison or other punishment, untill their cause be heard and legally tried.

That all justly acquired Priviledges have their due respect and vigour, and that the contraries thereunto be expunged and made void.

That unwonted Burthens, Exactions, Structures, and Hospitable Expences, be not imposed upon the Subject, without the Regall command or permission.

That fit Salery be duely paid to the ancient Court-servants, and that such as by Age are not longer serviceable, have necessary maintenance allowed them.

That whereas the Hereditary Title of his Highness is more magnificent and honourable (as well towards Strangers as Natives) then that of Governour of *Suehland*, lately given by the *Sudercopian* Decree; and for that the same is ambigious, and not understood by all alike, and doth neither increase nor impair the Dukes Power and authority. The Ambassadors are to endeavour his renouncing the same, as not being formerly used in the times of Legitimate Kings, and that he rest satisfied with his accustomed Title, as being of sufficient Dignity and estimation amongst all men.

That his Majesty will not, that the broyles raised against  
*Flemingius*

*Flemings* proceed any further, but requireth that all things committed may be cleared, or corrected by the Law of the Land.

That in regard of the great scarcity of Graine, causing dearth, his Highnesse would not permit any transportation thereof abroad, for prevention of Famine, poverty, and calamity to the Subject, whereof his Majesty is very sollicitous.

Last, That the Accounts of the Kingdomes Revenues, which his Highnesse hath had for some years in his hands, might be forth with stated and cleared, that so his Majesty at his returne into the Countrey, may know what debts of the Kingdome have been satisfied, and what otherwise.

To the fore-specified Oration, whereby his Highnesse, the Senators, and whole Orders of *Suetland*, did hold themselves aspersed and reproached, as also to those criminations by Count *Ericke* and *Arvidus Gustavus*, the Duke with the Senators returned Answer, as hereafter is shewed: But to the Kings particular Objections against the Duke, the ensuing reasons were by his Highnesse exhibited for their refutation.

Object. 1.

That the Duke had altered the prescribed forms of Government.

Ans.

That he had neither altered nor scene any Forme of Government, an imperfect Plenipotentiall excepted, brought unto him by *Ericke Gustavus*, not containing the forme of Power requisite in a well constituted Common-wealth, when to he had never acquiesced; nor would he have accepted the Government, but for the earnest reiterated requests of the Senators and Orders of the Kingdome, who desired him to have more regard unto the publick wel-fare, then to the defects in that prescribed Form.

Moreover, That a certaine Forme for a Kingdomes government in the Regall absence, cannot be prescribed to Subjects, by reason of frequent emergent alterations and Novations, not includible within the limits of a straitned Forme. And that albeit Lawes be enacted, for a perpetuall Rule of the Inhabitants actions, yet necessity urging, they are changed or abrogated, and others instituted more conducing to, present, publick good.

That whereas he is taxed of many things not couched in that Plenipotentiary, it follows, either that he is unjustly argued of having acted contrary thereunto, or that the same must be imperfect, as not containing all things which his Majesty requirited in a well regulated Empire.

That

The Dukes answer to the criminations.

That the sayd Forme was even repugnant to it selfe, for his Highnesse being thereby injoynd to Act for the good of the King and Kingdome, is neverthelesse prohibited the calling of Parliaments, without which the publick weale cannot be rightly provided for, as is manifest, in that seldome any Kings without Parliaments, have laudably administred the Common wealth.

That the same did likewise contradict the Regall Oath, and that Kingdomes Priviledges: That his Majesty having sworn to govern his Hereditary Country by the Counsell of the Duke and the Senators therof, they had neither approved of, nor been consulted in the draught of that form, but the same had been compiled by Strangers, and the Subjects compulsion to its obedience would be a violation of the Regall Oath: Next *Suethland*, by most ancient Priviledges had power to call Parliaments in the Royall absence, which Priviledges the King had by Oath bound himself to maintain.

That whereas it had been insinuated, his Highnesse ought to have rendred obedience to the foresaid Form, "albeit imperfect, by reason it was not for long duration, in regard of his Majesties intention for a return within short time into that Kingdom: It is answered, that Emergencies in Kingdomes admit not of delaies: That a month only may produce unremediable evils, how much more two years: That the King at his departure had deprived them of all hopes of his return, having affirmed to the Senators and Orders of *Poland*, that he would remain with them to the end.

*That his Highnesse had disposed of his Majesties Fee-farmes or Copsolds, which by the Law was reserved to the King solely, in Sign of his Supream Præminency.* Object. .2.

That if his Majesty will rightly discerne the sense of their Lawes in that case, his Highnesse cannot appeare to have done ought therein contrary to the Regall Authority: That the Assignation of certain Lands or Mannors to some honourable persons in satisfaction, out of the Annuall proceed for summs of money, long owing to them by the King and Kingdome, that so the Capitall sum might not, to the detriment of both, encrease by interest, was not an alienation of those Lands: That if this were unacceptable, the King, who had been severall times advertised thereof, should have shewed by what waies those Debts (whereof, as being just, the Creditors cou'd neither be denied, nor ought to be by force defrauded) might have been discharged, and the course of interest stopped: And that whatever he had conceded unto any, it was upon condition they should obtain the Royall Assent, which might evidence that he did acknowledge a Superiour, without

without whose approbation he would not conclude in ought that peculiarly belonged unto his Majesty.

Object. 3. *That his Majesties faithfull Ministers had been oppressed and removed from their Offices.*

Ans. 1. That his Highness cannot be taxed to have oppressed his Majesties faithfull Ministers, for having deprived some (infected with the *Romish* Pontificiall Leven) of those Governments which the King, without consulting himself and the Kingdomes Senators, had promoted them unto, forasmuch as by the Regall Affecuration the entry into those Honours and Offices was forbidden to such.

2. Distributive Justice prohibited maintenance from the Crown Revenues to those who by the Royall Cautionary prescription were not to bear Office, and were unserviceable to the Kingdome:

3. That forasmuch as (his Majesties Oath being salved) those persons could not pretend to more then a common enjoyment, with the other Inhabitants, of the Kingdomes Privileges, Lawes, and Immunities; the permission to them of more, would have been an offence against the same: Wherefore his Highness had not oppressed them (if it were so to be stiled) but they first themselves, by declining the received Religion and translating into the Tents of *Rome*; and next, his Majesty, who by his affecuration had deprived them of Office and Dignity.

Moreover it was evident that part of them so preferred, were incapable of those duties and unprofitable to the Subject; neither were they by consult admitted according to the prescript Lawes, and therefore legally deprived: As also that some of them were charged with hainous Crimes: And it was not meet that such should rule over others who could not govern themselves, neither were they to be numbred amongst the Kings faithfull Servants, in regard it would be a reproach to his Majesty to make use of their Service.

Object. 4. *That his Majesties Letters of Inhibition, and other Patents were slighted.*

Ans. That his Highness had never slighted any Legall Regall Mandates; neither did he conceive that by constraining some of evill Fame, accused of notorious Crimes, to appeare in Judgment with other lying Detractors, who against himself had published many false Criminations; or that by diminishing the power of such as had opposed the *Sudercopian* Decree, (who by Patents had been all received into the Royall Protection) he had trespassed in ought against his Majesties Inhibitions, when as by Law such were void.

Next,

Next, that his Majesty could not by his Patents protect such persons, having sworn to preserve the Kingdomes Lawes in their Entry; and in them is expressly couched, *That he who is tainted by Common Fame, must acquit himself from suspicion*: Neither doth the Imperiall Power extend to the taking away the right of a third, nor to pardon a wrong done to any untill the injured party be first satisfied: and therefore his Majesties Inhibitions could not free the Defamers of his Highness and others from procefs.

That the *Sundercopian* Parliament tended wholly to the welfare of the King and Kingdome, and to concord in Religion, and had not therefore been wrongfully called; so that the Letters which protected the Impugners thereof were invalid, and opened a great gap to dissentions and disturbances (as was then evident in *Finland*) from which Fountain ruine to Kings and Kingdomes doth usually flow.

Lastly, that such Letters were repugnant to the Regall Oath, and the Municipall Law of *Suethen*, wherein is expressed, *He shall defend his Subjects, especially the quiet and peaceable, who live conformable to Law, not only from Strangers, but likewise from turbulent and contentious Inhabitants: Chiefly, he shall maintain Ecclesiasticall Immunities, &c.* But such had been excepted in the Kings Patents. Open War raged in *Finland*; the Subjects, there, so exhausted by new Exactions as they could not pay the Kings Rents: Sundry hundreds had perished by hunger; That other grievances were here omitted, as Rapines, Rapes, Stuprations, open Violences, Violation of domestick Peace, and the like: which not only were hitherto unpunished, (notwithstanding severall advertisements given) but his Majesty did also prohibit proceedings against the Author or head of those mischiefs. That as to any other of the Royall Mandates, their Authority, when conform to the Lawes and Royall Oath, had ever been entirely preserved.

Moreover, that not only in *Suethland*, but almost in all other Nations, it had been a received custome, that Kings when absent did direct their Commands (concerning ought to be done) unto him who was over the Kingdome: And it had and might happen that by false Narrations of the procurers of such Patents, his Majesty had and might be led into error, and issue forth such Letters and Grants as would be much prejudiciall to the Kingdom, if put into present execution.

Lastly, his Majesty had promised by Oath to governe that Kingdome (during his absence in *Poland*) by the Counsell of the Duke, and the Senators of the Kingdome.

*That new Exactions, Structures of Edifices, and burthensome Object. 5.  
entertainments are imposed:*

That

Ans<sup>r</sup>.

That since his Highnesse undertooke the Government, he had altogether endeavoured an alleviation of the Subjects former preſſures, as could be witneſſed by themselves: That the contribution condeſcended unto at *Sundercopia*, had been by joynt conſent of the Subjects unanimously concluded, upon the Senators report to the other Orders, concerning the Kingdoms debts, which without their aſſiſtance could not be diſcharged, whereupon their reſult was deſired; & that himſelf had given charge to the Collectors not to require more from any Subjects then their eſtates would bear, and themſelves willingly undergo. That the ſame was more tollerable then thoſe new exacting waies whereby the Subjects Goods were enſnared, and they reduced to extream poverty.

That thoſe Leavies had not been made but in caſes allowed by the Lawes, and that albeit peace had been concluded with the *Ruſſian*, yet the Souldiers, and others who had lent great ſumms of money, for waging that War, were not payed their Salery and Debts. This was the cauſe of that impoſition, as if in the Exigency of War, in regard the Debts therein contracted were not ſatiſfied.

Next, that there were ſome Illuſtrious Perſons alſo; Kings Daughters, who demanded their Dowries from the Kingdom: yea, that the King himſelf had required the Duke to impoſe a contribution upon the Subject, for the marrying of the Princeſſ *Anna* a Regall Virgin: So that his Highneſſ was injured whileſt blamed for operating the Subject with new exactions, and the more in regard the Subjects willingly conſented to thoſe contributions, and affirmed that by Law they ought to pay them. Hereto is added that the Kingdomes neceſſities which are above all Law, required them.

As to new Structures, his Highneſſ remembred not any to have been by him commanded, otherwiſe (then by the Laws of *Suetben*) the Subjects were obliged unto; *Viz.* Repairing the Forts, Frontiers, and Navy, with other like, for defence of the Kingdom, and the repulſion of hoſtile Irruptions; Nor that in them he had not exceeded the conſtitution made by his Maſteſties late Father, and left (when dying) to his Maſteſties performance: But that if his Maſteſty thought good they ſhould be wholly neglected, he would ſurceaſe.

That for the entertainments inſiſted on, how, or by whomſoever obtruded, and whether right or wrong, his Highneſſ was confident that neither of him nor his Servants any juſt complaint could be made in that matter.

Object. 6.

That the Crown Revenues were not rightly adminiſtered, and the Duke therefore deſired to render account.

Ans<sup>r</sup>.

That what he had received had been by him iſſued toward the

the discharge of the Kingdomes debts and necessary expences, and that he therein referred to the Auditors accounts: But the Copper, Butter, and other Merchandizes received by his Ministers he challenged to himself, for payment of money and other things, lent sundry years past unto his Majesties Father and the Kingdome, whereof a considerable summe was yet unsatisfied, as might appeare by the respective Instruments.

That if his Majesty would reflect upon the profusions made of the Crown Revenues by his Largeesses and Mandatory Epistles, he should find but small cause to call him to account: That the Demaines of *Finland* had been so lavished, and the Inhabitants Estates so attenuated and exhausted by Souldiery entertainments, as they could render no *Debit* either to the King or Kingdome: That himself had contracted envy from many for endeavouring a right conservation of the Kingdomes Rents, and had likewise improved them, as was evident by the Revenue of the Mines, which might have yielded yet more profit, had not the same been obstructed by the disobedience of certain persons.

*That Innovation in Religion was endeavoured.*

Object. 7.

That he had not altered ought in Religion; But that the Senators, Bishops, and other Orders, remembring the dissensions and discords of former years during the Raige of his Majesties Father, had convened at *Upsall* to compound controversies and settle uniformity in Religion, as the strongest bond for conciliating the minds of Subjects, as on the other side, no greater distraction could be of wills and affections, nor greater disturbance to the publike; then proceeded from difference and disparity in Religion: That what had been there concluded he had left to them, and was therefore unjustly aspersed therewith; but that the same might more deservedly be retorted upon his Majesty, who had, contrary to his Oath and Assurance, planted his Emissaries, Romish Priests, to disperse Pontificall Superstitions and books in publike, as *Stocholme*, with the Monasteries of *Dortningolmense* and *Vastena* could witness.

That moreover, in latter daies, his Majesty had by writing exhorted his Subjects to embrace the Papall Superstition of Elevation, Salt and Tapers, with other like, not grounded on Sacred Writ: And unbyassed Judgments might discern whether this rather were not an attempt upon Religion: Which a godly and free counsell, if called by his Majesty in imitation of that Synod, would not have been, but his Oath and Regall Assurance had remained unviolated. The dispersing of Popish books, seducing the Children of honest Natives, nor practising upon the illiterate youthfull Menie, would not then

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have

have needed, as hath been in former years and still is donē.

That his Highness was also confident, that if any useles or scandalous Ceremonies, resembling Romish Idolatries, had been abrogated, the same could not be called innovation in Religion: That he rendred thanks to the most High, for so inlightning his mind by the Divine Word, that he could discern the true word of God from the traditions of men; and that the constitutions of their Church did permit those abrogations that had therein been made.

Object. 8. *That his Highness had Ministred occasions of mutation in the State of the Common-wealth.*

Ans<sup>r</sup>. That he was ignorant of any such occasion administred by him: That by Gods goodness he had studied the pure Religion, and (without boast) had maintained the Lawes and good Order in the Kingdome: That by these no motives to alteration could be tendred, but that by their neglect or violation a Kingdome becomes lyable to ruine. And that therefore he entreated his Majesty not to afford matter of change, as not being ignorant how often his Majesties Oath and Assecuration, with the Lawes of *Suetland*, both in Ecclesiasticks and Politicks, had been trespassed upon.

Object. 9. *That the Duke had degenerated from his Fathers Vertues, whereby the Hereditary Right had been obtained.*

Ans<sup>r</sup>. That this reflected more upon his Majesty, as having but meanly traced his Grand-fathers steps, & had acted much contrary to the Auital Testament, which was the ground-work of the Hereditary agreement: That such Unions are not attained to the end a King should neglect his Oath, Right and Justice; Act Arbitrarily, and abolish things constituted for the Countries good, but preserve them unviolated, and that thereby Hereditary Unions retained their vigour.

Object. 10. *That the Prince, under pretence of Religion, did render his Majesty obnoxious to the envy of his Subjects.*

Ans<sup>r</sup>. That no alienation of the Subjects minds from his Majesty by his Highness can be proved, and that on the contrary, he had alwaies exhorted them to persevere in Fidelity, as might appeare by the *Sudercopian* Decree: But that if any such thing had or should hereafter happen, the cause were to be imputed to himself, for not performing the things he had confirmed unto them by Oath, as hath been already said.

Object. 11. *That the Prince had affected the Kingdome.*

Ans<sup>r</sup>. That this Assertion can never be made cleer, nor that he had ever coveted the Regall Title, albeit it were not hard to prove

prove that the same had been often tendred unto him, and again might be, if contrary to the hereditary Covenants and his Oath of Fidelity, he would use the means and power at present in his hand: That affection of Sovereignty cannot be imputed unto him, because that he with the Senators, underwent the troublesome burthen of Government; for as much as in former times many more meanly descended, and of lesse Right, Dignity, and Power then himself, had in the Regall absence administred the *Suethish* Common-wealth, yet without any such aspersion upon them, as might appeare by the union in the Raigne of Queen *Margaret*, renewed under *Ericke* the thirteenth, in whose time and absence the great Sewer of the Kingdome was invested with power equall to the King; yet was not he to be compared unto his Highness, who is Hereditary Prince of the Realme, whom the prosperity thereof more neerly concerns.

*That his Highness had detained the Souldiers means, and defrauded them of their Stipends:* Object 12.

That he never expected a Crimination of this nature, as being by Gods goodness provided of such competent annuall Revenues, that he could live according to his Ranck, without making any such sordid gaine, neither needed he to hunt after Lucre with the Kingdomes losse. *Answ.*

*That his Highness had given obligatory Letters to his Majesty, but had afterwards violated them.* Object 13.

That albeit his Majesty had required such Letters from him before he departed the Kingdome, yet it cannot be proved that he ever obtained them, neither could he have so obliged himself, the same being repugnant to the Lawes of the Kingdome, from which he was not to vary, and therefore his being by them obliged, as his Majesty alledged, and did endeavour to demonstrate, was not of consequence. *Answ.*

Secondly, admit it were proved, which is not yet done, yet it did not thence follow, that he was tyed to an absolute observation without exception, and that it is to be considered whether such letters were given of right or conditionally; if the latter, they are not further binding then the condition is fulfilled: but that is not done, for his Majesty had not granted such a Plenipotentiary as he demanded.

Moreover the Obligation is meerly civill, and may be evaded by exception, in regard that ensued not for which those Letters are said to have been given, and therefore he cannot be reproached to have acted contrary unto them: And yet he is willing to submit unto such letters as are conform to the Plenipotentiary by him required; but how just it is to affirm that

that he gave such Obligatorials as the form transmitted hither (which hath no conformity with the obligation given by him) is left to the judgment of all equitable men.

Object. 14.

*Lastly, That the Prince had coined money in his own name and Stamp, which is a Royalty, and had thereby derogated from the Regal Rights and dignity.*

*Ans.*

1. That albeit the coining of money be Regal, yet he had acquired the same by the consent and approbation of the Superior: And that albeit King *Erick* was a Tyrant, and wholly endeavoured to diminish the Rights of his brethren, yet he deprived them not of that of Coinage, provided, that in Weight and Alley it were not inferiour to the Royall money, as appears by the *Arbogian* Constitutions, Anno 1561. which nevertheless in reference to certain other points, he had not accepted of.

2. That his Majesties Royall father had conceded unto him that Privilege, as might appear by the Constitutions made at *Vastena* and *Stegeburg*: And that after the composure of all differences between the late King and himself, and the abolition of the *Vastenan* Decree formerly obtruded upon him, he had coyned money in his own name, the late King yet alive; wherefore his Majesty could not revoke things which had been constituted and were unquestionable.

3. That the most renowned King *Gustavus* (of famous memory) had by Testament bequeathed to his brothers and himself, their respective Dukedomes, in the same manner his said Majesty possessed them, and he, having Power and Right of coining money in each, had thereby devolved the like unto him: Wherefore his Majesty of *Suetland* and *Poland*, by depriving him of that Privilege, would contradict his Grandfathers Testament.

4. Last, The refusall to his most faithfull Uncle of what his Majesty permits to his Subjects, can be but small honour to his Majesty, as to the debasing of the Kingdomes coin, either in Weight or Alley, to the prejudice of the Subject, the Mint-Master, and thousands of others can testify the contrary.

Wherefore soasmuch as his Highnesse had no way violated the Regall dignity, Right nor Justice, the Laws or hereditary Union of *Suetland*, but from his Majesties Cradle had demeaned himself like a most faithfull Uncle, and promised so to continue for the future, he is ignorant of the motives to such minatory criminating Letters, but suspects they proceed from his not approving of his Majesties Religion, and his opposing the admittance of Papall Superstition into the Kingdome; for as to other things he remembreth not the commission of ought that deserved reprehension.

That

That therefore he did in brotherly and earnest manner beseech his Majesty, and likewise most friendlike and lovingly desired the Senators, Peers, and Orders of the Kingdome of *Poland*, and the great Dukedome of *Lithuania*, to accept this answer as satisfactory, and not to make a Sinister Construction of these his just defences, whereunto most weighty Considerations, in a time most pressing had urged him: That nevertheless he did hope, that the King his Kinsman and Brother, would futurely forbear such Criminations, and return, preside over, and govern his hereditary Kingdome, according to his Oath, whereby all distempers, that had made irruption into the Common Wealth might vanish; But that if his Majesty were so minded, he did earnestly beseech him to settle such a Form of Rule, whereby the Kingdomes welfare, and the Subjects good might be provided for: That he doubted not but his Majesty had been incensed against him by false accusations for undertaking the Common Weales most troublesome Government, and that albeit, he had not obtruded his endeavours thereupon, but at his Majesties request, and by approbation of the whole Orders of the Kingdom, by whom he had been called and desired to the discharge of that duty upon his Majesties severall discessions therefrom: yet he was resolved not to intermeddle with the publick Administration against his Majesties mind, but leave to the arbitrement of the Senators, and other Orders, the Consideration of the Government thereof, during his Majesties absence.

And that, albeit many weighty occasions did at present occur to be consulted of and settled, for avoiding of unrecoverable detriment to the Kingdome, as Discords and Controversies in Religion: a perfecting of the Peace with the great *Muscovian* Duke, with sufficient security for its perpetuity, and the rendition of the Castle of *Kexholme*. The present troubles of almost ruined *Finland*, with other most urgent affairs for the Kingdomes future Weal, which by means of the Counsels now in agitation, may be neglected, whence discords greater then formerly may arise: His Highness doth nevertheless hereby protest his innocency, and that he hath given timely advertisement of these evils to the Counsellours and Orders of his Majesties Kingdome, and doth hope, and in friendly manner desire, that all good men will take this his Protest in good part, concluding with most loving and friendly tender of good will and favour to all the Orders, Citizens and Inhabitants of the Kingdom, as well Civill as Ecclesiasticall, to each according to his degree.

The further Answer made by his Highness and the Senatoriall Order unto the other Regal Objections, was as followeth.

Further Answer.

P

That

Object. .1

*That the Duke by indicting the Sudercopian Parliament, and by the Decree thereof, had derogated from all his Dignity, Preeminency and Regal Rights.*

Answ.

That albeit, according to the common rule in Law, where the Plaintiff proveth not, the Defendant is absolved, this accusation might be over-passed in silence, in regard his Majesty produceth no evidence of such derogating by those Articles, but barely criminales without any fortifying reasons: yet his Highness, to testifie his innocency, will demonstrate by the ensuing arguments, that the foresaid Decree doth no way impair but confirm and establish his Majesties honour and dignity. For,

1. No man of sound unbyassed Judgment, can deny, but that a Decree producing Concord in Religion, administration of Law and Justice, expelling confusions crept into the Common-wealth, maintaining the Regall Oath and Asscuration, with the Hereditary Union unblemished, doth rather augment then diminish the Regall Dignity and Rights: But that the *Sudercopian* Decree is such a one may easily appeare to all men, and will be more fully shewed hereafter; wherefore the suspicion of weakning his Authority thereby must vanish: Naturall Reason, History, and daily Experience do shew, that where diversity of Religion sets foot, no account is made of right or just; *Ataxia* or confusion raignes; the vulgar multitude are apt for Insurrections; thereby the Common-weal cannot be long safe, the Soveraignes rule will be of small duration, neither are their Rights and Dignities preserved: Discontinuance of Supream Authority proceeds from neglect of Kingly Offices; *Viz.* Propagation of Religion in a Realme, administration of Right and Justice, abolition of disorder. By these, as sure foundations, the Weal publike is preserved, and the Regall Rule so long prosperous as they are endeavoured: Those layed aside, it vanisheth, as Histories (over-long to be here recited) do testifie.

Hence ariseth a question, What particular in that Decree is there repugnant to the things mentioned: At its very beginning, promise, and confirmation of fidelity is exhibited, according to the Subjects Obligation in reference to his Majesties Inauguration Oath: next, Concord in Religion is established; for all persons introducing and sowing Extraneous Superstitions (the Regall Oath and Asscuration so requiring) are expelled: Unlawfull Conventicles are prohibited, by which means the Weal Publike is duely provided for. How Concord is maintained in Regions where disparity of Religion is admitted, the ruines and subversions of most potent Kingdomes and Common-wealths do shew.

2: The

2. The mention of his Highness Title and Authority in point of Government, during his Majesties absence, in the second Article of that Decree, doth rather confirm then retract form his Majesties Dignitie and Rights: for the presidency of one, exceeding the rest in power and authority, is of advantageous concernment to the Common-wealth, as by the prejudices of *Policratia*, or *Democratie* in this and other Kingdomes, and by this Nations Annals may be demonstrated: Hence Civill Wars take rise, and Kingdomes become subject to extraneous Yoaks to their own detriment and destruction: for men are naturally prone to dissention: Where severall beare rule with equall power, it followes mostly, that each hath regard to his private not the publike good. Moreover, each trusting to other neglects his own part of duty, according to that saying, *Affaires committed unto many have slow expedition*, There is a certaine naturall Vice, that Possessions in common are for the most part neglected.

3. The Lawes of *Suethland* do thus expresse, that the same shall be rotally subject unto One, not unto many Kings; Whence it is apparent, that the Well-fare and Dignity of the Kingdome cannot firmly consist but under one Governour. Hereunto externall Lawes and the Judgments of Forraigners do accord, as the following Texts do witnesse; *Kingdomes and Empires may be better governed by One then by many. Item, Hardly can a Plurality effect ought of good: Item, It is Hereticall to place two Vicars in a Land.*

4. It hath not been usuall in this Kingdome, in former ages, that (in the Regall absence) severall persons should equally governe the Common-wealth, as may appeare by the Union made in the Raigne of Queen *Margaret*, renewed in that of *Erick* the thirteenth. Moreover it hath been customary, that in the Vacancy of the Regall Chaire, some One, not more of the Kingdomes Senators, should bee elected to administer the Affaires of the Common-weale. Seeing therefore that his Highness is a Prince Hereditary of the Kingdome, unto whom, with his Heires the Inheritance thereof doth properly belong, if any unwitting Accident should befall, (howbeit he wiseth the contrary, and that his Majesty and his Progeny may enjoy by Gods goodnesse, a long, peaceable, and legitimate Government over the same) the right of Hereditation requires that his Highness should preside in his Majesties absence: The rather for that there is none extant of the Regall Family ripe for Government, and the Lawes permit not the preferring of any but the next of blood.

As from the precedent (and other not here inserted) reasons it may be concluded, that the King absent, more then One cannot be constituted over the whole, nor any but his Highness;

ness; It followes without controversie, that nothing hath been herein acted in derogation of his Majesties Dignity : but such only decreed as the Lawes commanded and the publike good required : For his Highnesse did not this to exclude his Majesty, but to be serviceable to the Country in his Majesties absence ; neither did he obtrude himself, but lent his hand to the Helme, at the earnest request of the Orders of *Suethland* :

The Title it self doth no way diminish the Regall Præminency : For,

1. It is the Title of a King, but of him who executes the Office and represents the Power.

2. Both in this and other Kingdomes the Rulers have been called by such Titles, as is evident in our Histories; where *Torchilus* the Son of *Canutus*, *Suanto* the Son of *Nicolaus*, *Steno Sjure* the younger, and many others, have been entitled Governours and Administrators of the Kingdome.

3. This Title cannot derogate from the Regall Dignity, for his Majesty had (by Writ) honoured *Claudius Flemings*, with the like; which he was uncapable of, as not being approved by the States of the Kingdome, neither had they both equall right to the Government : For his Highnesse sprung from the Regall Family, is a Prince hereditary of the Kingdome, but *Flemings* a Subject of his Majesty and of his Highnesse.

The third head of the said Decree contains likewise nothing but what is consentaneous to the Lawes of *Suethland* : For by those written Lawes, each cause is to be tried in the Province where the Delict was committed; and the punishment to be made exemplary where the Crime was so; besides, many confusions and prejudices would accrue to the Country, if the cognition of all Causes should be made in *Poland*. As,

1. There could not be so ample information as were requisite, in regard the true state of Crimes may be more certainly known upon the place.

2. A just Cause might happen to be lost for want of ability to attend personally and prosecute the definition; to produce Witnesses, and exhibit other instruments conducible to its legall cognition.

3. The Natives Estates would be utterly exhausted by those long Journeys, whence their unavoidable ruine must of necessity follow.

4. The ancient Jurisdiction, Lawes, and Priviledges of *Suethland* would be violated, which may not be tollerated : All Nations have unanimously and obstinately maintained their own, and have pronounced that the Infringers of the Jurisdiction of others were to be punished as Peace-breakers. *Item*, that who so should bring an Action before a Court incompetent was to be fined.

Whereas

Whereas therefore his Majesty had bound himselfe by Oath not to impair the Jurisdiction of *Suethland*, he should trespassse against the same by constituting either in *Poland*, or elsewhere, any extraneous Judicatory to be competent for the *Suethes*. Our Annals do likewise shew that, for the like, great troubles did arise to *Erick* the thirteenth, and other Kings.

5. Hereunto is added, that his Majesty whilst in *Poland*, cannot determine the causes of *Suethland*, as not having those persons there with him, by whose counsell he is sworn to administer this Kingdomes Affaires.

The fourth Article of that Decree is grounded upon the Lawes of *Suethen*, as treating of distributing of Offices: And if his Majesty will preserve the Lawes intire as he hath sworne, he may not, whilst absent, confer Offices at the request of every one who shall sue unto him: According to the Lawes of *Suethen*, the King (absent) is expressly prohibited from constituting a Provinciaall Judge, but such constitution belongs to him who (in his absence) supplies his place: How much lesse then may he dispose of the more weighty charges? And it hath been alwaies usuall here that the great Sewer or Vice-roy of the Kingdom, should collate Offices in the Regall absence, as appears by the Union whereby he is endowed with that Power.

In regard therefore of what before alledged, it is uncontroversably apparent that the foresaid Decree doth not violate his Majesties Rights nor Dignity, but doth rather enlarge and illustrate them: and that, if regard were had to the Lawes, his Highnesse might expect and receive thanks for having, in his Majesties absence, undergone a Government so replenished with cares and toyles: However, it was not decent to vitiate this pious Office with such contumelies and ignominious expressions, as the Letters delivered unto him are farced with.

But if his Majesty shall say, that he doth not so much argue and protest against the Decree it self (in regard those Articles seem not so averse unto the Regall Dignity and Rights) as against the power and authority assumed by his Highnesse of indissolving a Parliament, that being a Prerogative Royall belonging to the King solely.

His Highnesse answereth, that by the Lawes, it is not easily proved, that the right of calling Parliaments is peculiarly Regall; for those Royalties which by speciall concession are conferred upon any person, go not beyond the same, but that it is otherwise observed in Parliamentary Rights, examples do shew; for even in *Poland* the Arch-bishop of *Gnesnen* hath power to call Parliaments and to enact Lawes in the Kings absence: And albeit that a Law to the contrary might be alledged, yet ought it not to be of any validity in this case, for

as much as the *Suetes*, by a long prescription of time, have acquired this right in the same manner that all Regall Priviledges are, as may appear by many Parliaments celebrated in this Kingdome, in the Raignes of *Ericke XIII.* and *John II.* Moreover, the Countries well-fare and necessities required the calling hereof: And necessity is above all Law, neither admits of any.

Forasmuch then as by the precedent reasons it is manifest, that the *Sudercopian* Decree contains nothing but what is conducing to the preserving and promoting of Unity in Religion, to the maintaining and confirming the Lawes and Priviledges, his Majesty cannot, by the most Subtilized Arguments, render the same Invalid, without revoking his Oath. But for the better cementing of things, his Highnesse will briefly resolve and refute the Arguments used by his Majesty for the illuding of that *Sudercopian* Transaction.

*Argument 1.*

**H**is Majesty argues that in all lawful Conventions two things are chiefly requisite: First, the Superiours approbation and consent: Secondly, That the necessity and motives for calling a Parliament be maturely signified unto him: But whereas the *Sudercopian* Covention was held without the Regall assent, and timely signification of the Cause impelling thereunto, his Majesty pronounceth the same needlesse and unlawfull.

And that his Majesties affirmation may appear grounded upon Reason and the Authority of the Law, he confirms and fortifies the same out of the second Chapter of the Title of Regalls, by a Text, wherein is expressed, that Subjects are bound to obey their King; but his Majesty, by Edict, prohibited that Convention, as appeares by the Writ. *Ergo, &c.*

*Ans.*

This Proposition is not rationally laid down: For thus many civil Conventions would be approved, and laudable ones, tending to the good of Empires and Kingdomes, would be rendred of no validity, because held without the Knowledge or consent of the Supreme Magistrate, which were dangerous to say. The Syllogisme ought therefore to be thus formed: It is a lawfull Convention wherein nothing is treated, but what is consentaneous to the Laws, and appertains to the well.

well-being, and to the best State of a Common Weal, but in the *Sudercopian* Convention, nothing was determined that is not agreeable to the Laws of *Suethen* and other Nations: Who therefore will call such a Convention unlawfull? And if that be to be called a lawful Assembly, of the causes and necessity whereof his Majesty had been advertised, this cannot be termed an unlawfull one; timely Advertisements of the reasons inducing his Highnesse and the Councillours of the Kingdome to call that Parliament, having been sent to his Majesty, as by their Letters of the 28. of *July* may appear.

Neither was it unknown to his Majesty in what Confusion and Perturbation he left the Kingdome at his departure; nor yet, if the causes had not been signified, ought this Parliament to have been judged unlawfull, for as much as in our Municipal Laws there is not one which commands the same, and that ought to be called unlawfull, which is contrary to the Law: And if any Law prohibiting the celebrating of Parliaments, were extant, it ought deservedly to be restrained or altogether abolished, where danger may be apprehended by delay, in which case the common rules of Law may be receded from, and undoubtedly this exception may take place here, for daily Experience shewes what delayes are contracted by expectation of answers out of *Poland*. The deferring thereof for the Regal approbation would have been of small conducement, seeing the whole Matter appears distastefull to his Majesty, who also by an absolute prohibition might have procured detriment to the Kingdome, and prejudice to the Royall Dignity. And albeit his Majesty had deigned an acceptable answer, yet it had been repugnant to the Custome (time out of mind) of this Kingdome; both because it had ever been permitted here to call Parliaments, Necessity urging, and the King being in forreign parts, as also that it would have been a reproach and ignominie to the Kingdome, to have sought a form and frame of administering the same from abroad. How necessary that Convention was, the ensuing Reasons will demonstrate.

1. It will be granted by all men, and his Majesty must acknowledge, (unlesse he will affirm that his Kingdome may want him without prejudice) that no Kingdome can continue without a King or head, and a certain form of Administration. The King was departed out of his hereditary Kingdome, and had left no Governour nor settled form of Government, nor hopes of his return; having, as aforesaid, promised the *Polanders* to spend his remaining life with them, so soon as he should have received the Crown, and had settled his affairs in *Suethland*; and therefore deliberation for governing the Common Wealth in his absence, was necessary for the avoiding of prejudice

prejudice by confusion, which began to sprout forth: But the Subjects consent being requisite for such a Settlement, it was needfull, that the Orders of the Kingdome should be convened to make an Election by common suffrage.

Further, without a Governour, to whom should the Subjects have address'd their Complaints? for each one would have ruled as he list'd, which is hardly now abtain'd from (and the rather because his Majesty renders the *Sudercopian* Decree subject to Suspition and Contempt) by means whereof the Subjects finding themselves desert'd by their lawfull Crown'd King, might have taken occasion of swerving from their duty; neither would reason nor the examples of Ancestors have been wanting. Here may be added, that the *Russian* War, which had lain upon us twenty six years was not then ended, and winter approach'd, affording to the enemy notable opportunities of infesting the Kingdome; the Borders were denuded of military Guards, and as it were expos'd to incursions; to obviate these evils, mutuall consent, Counsel and assistance was requisite, which could be no way better effected then by the *Sudercopian* Parliament.

But whereas his Majesty endeavours to prove the same unlawfull by the forecited Text of the second Chapter in the title of Regals, it may be worthy of observation, how this deduction can be made from thence: His Majesties words admit of a double construction: First, that Subjects are bound to obey the Kings command, when they are fortified with and conformable to law, unto which sense his Highness doth submit, and it is onely inquired, whether such a Convention be forbidden by the Law? but if no such Law can be produced, he collects from thence, that the same is legally permitted: For what is not prohibited, is conceived to be allowed: and where the Law is silent, we ought to be so likewise: Which Laws are the more pertinent to our purpose, because that here the Privation of a Right is concerned, whereof no man can be (justly) deprived but by expresse provision of the Laws. But if the words signifie that, according to Law, the Subjects are bound to obey whatsoever the King shall command: many inconveniences would redound thence; for thereby all his injunctions, just or unjust, must have the force of a Law, which would favour more of a Tyrant then of a Christian Prince.

*Cæsar*, albeit a Monarch, in the Cabinet of whose breast all Lawes are contained, and who can prescribe and ordaine against Law Positive, hath not thought it below him to say, that he is subject to the Lawes; contrary to the common voice of Tyrants is, *Sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas*.

3. That Law cannot be so generally understood as his Majesty

jesty would have it, because his Sovereignty is circumscribed and limited by his Oath, by his Affecuration, and by the Laws themselves, neither can it extend further then they permit: And here that clause of his Majesties Letter, *That he granted not unto his Highnesse an absolute but a limited Rule*, is answered; for his Majesty not having (as is here shewed) an absolute Rule, how could he transfer to another what himself had not.

3. Whereas it is expressly contained in the Regall Oath and in our Municipall Law, that the King ought to command his Subjects nothing but what is right and just before God and man; how can the King command what ever he will? or how are the Subjects bound to obey his command in all things, if he shall enjoyn ought contrary to the Lawes and Statutes of the Land.

Seeing therefore that this Law is to be understood with an exception, and extends not further then the Regall Oath and the Kingdomes Lawes permit, it may be demanded whether the King could rightly hinder or disturb the *Sudercopian* Parliament? For first, he promised by Oath to impose no new Law upon his Subjects without their consent: but whereas in all the body of our Law there is not one which forbids the celebrating of a Parliament, the King remaining in forraign parts, and that his Majesty endeavours to introduce such a Law, let the Subjects approbation be first required; which certainly they will never afford as having unanimously concentrated in and confirmed the *Sudercopian* Convention: and therefore his Majesty cannot make such a Law, nor disanull those Decrees, unlesse he will act against his Oath and Faith, and against the Lawes of the Land, besides the hazard of reducing his Hereditary Kingdome into extreame danger.

Secondly, his Majesty made Oath to preserve all the Rights and Priviledges of the Kingdome: But that of calling Parliaments in the Regall absence is most ancient, as is manifest in former Ages; especially in the Raigns of *Ericke* the thirteenth, and *John* the second, in which the Orders of the Kingdome convened to admonish the King (by writing) of his duty, and to exhort him not to leave the Kingdome in the distractions it then was. And albeit his Highnesse is not ignorant that Judgment is not to be given by example, but by Law, he holds it (yet) worthy of consideration that examples are of a two-fold kind; the one diametrically repugnant, the other consentaneous to the Lawes; the former of no authority, the latter of equall force with the Law: But those before cited are not contrary thereunto, and therefore cannot be legally rejected by his Majesty: Moreover, not so much the exam-

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ple as the frequency of such adings, and the time requisite for such prescriptions are to be regarded; which custome is not only of equall force with the Lawes, but doth sometimes eclipse their Authority.

Thirdly, Whereas his Majesty did religiously promise that he would intermit nothing which might conduce to the wellfare and flourishing estate of the Kingdome, he cannot nullifie the *Sudercopian* Decree which wholly tended to the Patriall good & safety: And albeit a Law were extant, forbidding Parliaments to be held in the Royal absence, yet it ought to be restrained when the Kingdome by reason of that absence were in danger. For, *Salus Populi Suprema Lex Esto*. And a Prince ought to prefer the publike good before his own particular.

As therefore his Highnesse and the Kingdomes Inhabitants are not further bound unto his Majesty, nor obliged to obey his commands then his Oath, his Caution given, and the Lawes of the Land do permit, and that these would be contradicted if his Majesty should obstruct the Parliamentary Decree made and ratified by common consent; It followes of right that the Subjects are not bound to the obedience of his Edict, especially in regard the Kings and Kingdomes well-being was endeavoured by that Convention.

. *Arg. 2.*

That since this Kingdome, of Elective, became Hereditary, no such Parliaments were ever celebrated the King living; and that this therefore opposed his Dignity and Regall Rights.

*Ans.*

That since the first time this Kingdome became Hereditary, never did any of their Kings at one and the same time governe two Kingdomes so far distant and differing both in people and language, but alwaies remained in, and laudably ruled their Hereditary Kingdome; and therefore it was not necessary that another should undertake the work and call Parliaments; albeit even they, as Affaires required, could not otherwise governe then by such Convocations: So as this ought not to turne to his Highnesse reproach, the Kingdome being in a manner destitute of a King, and disorders increasing.

It may also be here demanded, whether more right and power accrues to the King by Succession, then his Predecessors had whilst Raigning by a free Election? But if it cannot be shewed that more power and authority is devolved unto his Majesty, what should now hinder Parliamentary Indictings and the constitutions of things tending to the good of the King, the Kingdome, and totall Posterities, seeing that Histories do shew the same hath been done, they raigning and governing other Kingdomes.

That

That in the *Sudercopian* Convention new Lawes *Arg. 3.*  
were enacted, and that to make and promulgate Edicts is solely Regall: Wherefore the Transactions there did undoubtedly derogate from the Royall Dignity and Authority, and ought to be abrogated.

That to ordaine new Lawes is not solely Regall, but the *Ans.*  
Subjects consent is likewise requisite, without which it cannot be done. It is also affirmed that no new Law was enacted in that Convention, and consequently nothing derogatory to his Majesty therein acted.

That much time was not Elapsed since his Majesties *Arg. 4.*  
Coronation, so as the promises then made might easily be remembred, and therefore their renovation by any particular Convention was unneedfull.

His Highnesse regards not so much the time as the manner *Ans. 1.*  
of his Majesties observing those agreements, and that many things could be made appeare to have been acted contrary to the most of them, but that he is tender of his Majesties honour and fame.

2. This Objection is more hurtfull then helpfull to his Majesties cause, in saying he was mindfull of what had been transacted at his Inauguration, for his Judgment may suggest unto him what suspicion may arise from a (voluntary) omission of what one knowes ought of right to be done.

2. From hence also conjecture may be made how that will be kept unto Posterity which is wilfully neglected at the very first.

4. Renewing of things formerly concluded is not unusuall, for many things are comprehended in the Law and published, which neither ought nor can be unknown to any: yet forasmuch as they are many waies trespassed against, Kings with the Orders of the Kingdome, have thought meet to digest the heads, mostly swarved from, into new Edicts and Constitutions, and so republish them to the people; which might be also exemplified by other Nations, but that the repetition would be over-long.

That

*Arg. 5.* That his Highnesse had by that Parliament admitted occasion to deprive his Majesty, with himself, and whole Posterity, of the Succession and Kingdome, and therefore those Decrees ought to be abolished.

*Answ.* Experience, the continued consent of Histories and all Politicks do accord, that for two causes chiefly God doth transfer the Empire of one Nation to another; *Viz.* Impiety and Injustice: And therefore by the rule of contraries it followes, that he who provides for Concord in Religion, and who administers Right and Justice, affords no matter for such Mutations. But that this is the maine scope of the *Sudercopian* Decree is evident from it selfe; wherefore his Highnesse cannot be justly accused of giving occasion thereby to deprive his Majesty and his Successors of the Kingdome: For caution being thereon given that the Oath of objectionall Fidelity should be preserved, and all erroneous Decrees dissenting from our received and admitted Religion, abrogated; it followes consequentially (for Negation of the whole admits of Negation of parts) that whosoever impugnes that Decree doth equally free the Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity to his Majesty, disturbs Concord in Religion, and overturnes the Hereditary Covenants: His Highnesse therefore doth Jurally affirme that his Majesty cannot disanull the same without absolving the Subjects from their said Oath and exclusion of himselfe and Posterity from the Succession.

2. The Subjects Obligation to his Majesty is conditionall, agreeable to the Regall Oath and Assecuration, as hath been shewed: Whence it is that by over-throwing the *Sudercopian* Tractation the Covenant will not be fulfilled: And it is evident in Law, that where the Condition is not observed the Obligation is void: The rescinding therefore of that Transaction may administer cause of defection, as his Highnesse hath, brotherly, admonished his Majesty.

3. None can be ignorant that it is usuall, in all Nations, for Subjects to renounce their fidelity and obedience upon violation of the Regall Conditions and Covenants: Histories do record, nor can it be unknown unto any, what hath been acted in *Suetland*, *Poland*, *France*, *England*, *Scotland*, and *Denmark*; yea, neer at hand, some may be found, who, by their Lawes, have expressly prohibited obedience to be rendred to their Kings in things contrary to the Lawes; Witnesse the Statutes of *Poland*.

By the Law it is permitted that either party acting contrary to agreement, the other also may recede: there is likewise a Relative Fidelity so equall between a Prince and his Subjects, that a faithfull Prince renders his Subjects such; and therefore the Eversion of the *Sudercopian* Decree would be dangerous to the King and his Successors, neither can his Majesty annihilate the same without hazarding the fore-cited inconveniencies.

Some may be of opinion, that Subjects ought not to desert their allegiance, albeit the King should act contrary to his Covenant; and that they being bound to him by Oath, their violation thereof were Perjury, how enormously soever dealt with: yet here it is to be considered that an Oath is not a Bond of in-equity and injustice, which would follow if his Majesty might swarve from his, and the Subjects remaine bound by theirs.

That albeit Treachery had been impending, his Highnesse ought not to have called a Parliament without the Royall assent, how much lesse when apparently no danger was to be feared. Arg. 6.

This seems to be without grounds, seeing that in such cases men are wholly freed from the Law: For, albeit *Paracide* be a crime so atroce, and of that horrible and detestable nature, as the Ancients could not conceive it to come into the mind of man, or invent for it a condigne punishment: Yet the Sonne who should slay his Father in the practise of Treason, was not only legally acquitted but rewarded likewise: Moreover the generall exception of all Lawesis, *Salus Populi Suprema lex esto*: And necessitie is above all Law. If then in those Nefarious acts we are exempted from the law when Prodition threatens danger, how much more lawfull is it to call a Parliament (like necessity urging) which is not forbidden by any Law; & his Majesty may gather by what before specified, that from the longer Government by the form he left behind him, little lesse prejudice would have been derived then if present treachery had been to be feared. Answ.

*To the Ambassadoriall Oration of the Polders, the Duke and Counsellors of the Kingdome of Suethland made answer as followeth.*

*Answer to the Oration.*

That amongst the admirable Workes of God upon Earth, nothing is more wonderfull then the Bond or Order  
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whereby men have been governed from the beginning, with due preservation of mutuall Society; and albeit partly in confused, mostly in very different manner, yet their universall ruine hath not hitherto succeeded. In some places One, in others a few, the more noble and more wise; in others more, sometimes the multitude have ruled. And yet in such varieties of Men and Nations, and difference of Governments, that Sovereignie should subsist and be durable to the Worlds end, no wiseman but will admire and acknowledge it to proceed from the Singular goodnesse of God, and chiefly to that end whereunto all Empire seemes to Verge; that the Almighty may receive praise, and that Justice may be preserved unblemished.

That amongst all those Formes, the Government by one person, the counsell of prudent men annexed, hath alwaies been the chief in estimation: The same by one King as the humane body with its members being better governed, as the Lords Ambassadors in the beginning of their Oration did prudently deliver, in the enumeration of the ancient alliances between the two Kingdomes of *Suethland* and *Poland*, for many years, under severall Princes of each Nation, but especially this last and neereft of *Sigismundus* hereditary of *Suethland*, freely and voluntarily elected King of *Poland*, which friendship had ever been honourable to both the Nations: To *Poland* hitherto beneficiall mostly; To *Suethland* most grateful.

As to the comparison of the body of man to a Kingdome, and the Rule of the head over the same to the Regall Dignity; the similitude is most fitly adapted and an argument of great Erudition, taken out of *Menenius Agrippa* in *Livy*, but is not rightly applied to the *Suethes*, ever most faithfull to their Kings. No question is made how the Statutes of *Poland* are observed towards his Majesty who was called thither, not of necessity but by their own free will: His Majesties Fame was their inducement to his Election; but the *Suethes* are bound to their King by hereditary right of blood, coupled with Vertue: They by their free electing him have testified a singular gratitude and propensity toward the maternall Regall Stock: but who can say, that the *Suethes* have ever come short of any toward their King and Regall Family, having conceded the Electory Sovereignty of a most ancient Kingdome into a perpetuated Inheritance of a Masculine Royall Line, without otherwise antiquating any Law or Priviledge of the Kingdome? It must be granted, that nothing is more consentaneous to nature, then that the body with all its members and parts universally should be governed by the head, and that the like right belongs to a King in a Kingdome: yet so, that the  
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Office of the members, which are to obey, be not confounded, or any thing contrary to Law obtruded; as also that consideration be had whether the King remaine fixed within or without the Kingdome.

The heads of the *Poish* Complaint against the *Sudercopian* Assembly were then rehearsed as they are couched in the Oration, but the repetition for brevities sake (here) omitted: And to the whole it was replied; That,

To the *Suetbes* an Embassie so magnificent, from the Senatoriall Orders of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, would have come most acceptable for the weeding out of any discords that might have sprung up, and the renewing of mutuall friendship; for thereby their great fidelity, and regard to his Majesty, and their good inclination to this Kingdome, would have appeared But that it was beyond the expectation of his Highness, and the Orders of *Suetbland*, that they should incurre a suspicion so harsh from friends and associates, the fidelity of the *Suetbes*, not being so slightly seated, as that such grave Persons should be moved with a vain rumour: It was not meet, yea by so much more unmeet, in that they seem to be charged with high Treason, wherefrom the *Suetbes* have ever been most averse: The Orders of *Poland* ought to have been better instructed in the affairs of *Suetbland*, before they had made so sinister a Nationall Construction, as that the State thereof was disturbed, and the Regal Dignity prostituted; and this vpon a rumour in *Poland* far greater (doubtlesse) then the Ambassadors do find to be really here: Admonition amongst equals and fellows is admittable, but such a censure in no wise. The Orders of *Poland* and *Lithuania* mistrust that many things have been transacted at *Sudercopia*, tending to the disturbance of ancient Order, and the right Government of this Kingdome, directly undermining his Majesties Dignity and Superiority, &c. It is contrary to duty and mutuall benevolency to thrust ones Sicle into another mans Harvest, and to meddle with things that properly belong to the State and Orders of *Suetbland*, who have never had ought in more, or more ancient, estimation, then their fidelity and obedience toward their Kings; and then whom it concerns none more that the right forme of Government should not be changed; and, if it were, to have it restored.

The *Sudercopian* Parliament was convened by his Highness, to whom, with the Senators, the King had committed the kingdome: Not upon light grounds, as the Ambassadors may have partly perceived by the Acts, for it was necessary to call a Parliament, neither was ought therein concluded derogatory to the regall Dignity, or to the Patriall Rights; nor were new Laws enacted, but the old put in execution:

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That which preserves tranquility of Religion generally received in a kingdome, which executes the Laws, aboliseth civill disention, establiseth the regall Oath and the hereditary Covenants, doth more confirme then weaken the Regall Rights: No man therefore will doubt, but that his Majesty vvill have it unviolably observed, and will thinke nothing can more conduce to the illustration and amplification of his Dignity: It was called for his good, not for sedition or disobedience; neither was it unwitting to him, for hee had been certified of the motives by *Artizouskie* in *August* preceding; he protested indeed, but the thing was done. The power of calling Parliaments is knowne to be in the Supreme Prince when within the Kingdome; but if otherwise, it hath never been observed that Treason was imputed, if they to whom the Government was committed did call a Parliament in the Regall absence, so long as nothing was acted contrary to their Faith and Oath given. This Kingdome hath some Presidents, as in the times of *Christian* the first, and *John* the second, when the effects of the Regall Oath began to languish, which may easily happen in the Kingly absence: Forraign examples are not wanting, nor argumentative proofs of the best learned in Politicks many years past, as well of the *Roman* as of our Religion, that the King being absent, Parliaments may be kept without derogating from Majesty: According to *Cominans*, they swarve from the Law of Nations, and the custome of their Ancestors who plot to root out the most laudable institution of celebrating common Counsels, the greatest strength and establishment of a Kingdome: Under *Edward* the second of *England*, *Charles* the eighth, and *Lewis* the eleventh of *France*, and these also are Hereditary Kingdomes, Parliaments have been called the King present: In *Germany* it is no new thing for the States to convene against the Emperors mind, and it is yet fresh in memory that the like hath been done in *Poland*, the King, even this *Sigismund* the third, not only unwilling but also prohibiting and protesting against it, which is not here mentioned to accuse others, for all men have judged Parliaments to be lawfull, when publikely called for weighty causes and not contrary to the good of King and Kingdome, albeit against his mind being absent. Confederacies opposite to the Regall Dignity, Præminencie, and Rights, have not been undertaken as is unjustly objected: Such favour of Sedition which never entred into the thoughts of the *Suetbes*. Conspiracy is close, treacherous, distructive to King and Country; but Parliaments are lawfull and do fortifie both: It is therefore Illegal to taxe the *Suetbes* of treason, for so convening, when as the same appeares not to be forbidden them by any Law; but into Kings is not permitted to Enact Lawes without

without the Peoples consent, no more then to governe the people contrary to the Law and without the assent of the Senators.

The more weighty inducements to that Parliaments indiction were, the publike Debts; the unpaid stipends of the Soldery, whose Military Vertue is not unknown to any; the settling of Dowries whereunto extraordinary collection was necessary; which by the Lawes of *Suethland*, the King himself (when present) cannot compell without a Parliament: His Majesty was absent whose part it was to cleere the debts of his Father and the Kingdome, which cannot stand safe without salving the publike Faith. Another motive was that in the Form of Government prescribed, severall things seemed wanting in conformity to the Lawes and Regall Oath, whereunto the Orders of the Kingdome conceived they ought to adhere the more constantly by reason of discords about Religion, which were not when the right of Hereditation was conferred upon the Regall Family. To the said Form the Senatoriall Votes were also requisite, without which the King is by our Laws forbidden to settle ought of the Kingdoms more weighty Affaires. These reasons may suffice for the calling of that Parliament, albeit more might be given: Let us now discusse the heads of what was therein concluded.

It is reputed treason that some are removed from Office; that the Regall Letters receive not due regard; that appeales to the King are prohibited with sundry others; To all which articulate answers shall be made, that so the innocency of the *Suethes* may appeare to equall minds.

That some are reduced is not denied; and if, the Ambassadors were acquainted with the reasons, not unjustly; for some could not be admitted to beare rule without infringing the Regall Oath: Others, refractory to the publike peace had like members lost from the body, not only separated themselves from the *Sudercopian* Decree, but from others also of greater antiquity which had been by Regall Oath confirmed: not without suspicion of innovation, which is mostly studied by such as esteeme nothing more then to be pleasing to the Supreme Magistrat without discerning what is just and commodious for the Common Weale, and so to grow upon the ruines of others: yet these are permitted to enjoy the benefit of the Lawes and ordinary Priviledges. It is moreover to be considered that the more honourable Offices of this Kingdome cannot be immediatly rightly conferred by the King, howbeit fixed within the Kingdome, unlesse that first, if One be to be admitted into the Senatoriall Counsell; if into any other great Office, the Provinciaall Votes have conceded to One of Three. Neither can Judges (the King even present) be o-

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therwise appointed: But he remaining out of the Kingdome, by his Vice-gerent, which Office the Kingdome's Sewer (as they here term it) did anciently, by vertue of a certain Law discharge in the Regall absence: This is testified by the Laws themselves, by the priviledges of sundry Kings and famous Constitutions of the Kingdome for above five hundred years, as also by the union of these three Kingdomes in the Raignes of Queen *Margaret*, and of the Kings, *Erick*, *Christopher*, *John* the second, and *Christierne* the first and second.

Come we now to the point of appealing. It is not unknown to any, that the most High God hath Instituted the Supream Magistrate for a Sanctuary and refuge to the oppressed: So that appeales to the King and to those that beare rule, and such as the King hath appointed as chief in his absence, are lawfull even by the greatest Offenders: And this is a custome practised in the *Romane* Provinces, and observed by other Kings whose Extents are large, but if it were free for guilty and indebted persons to make continuall appeales to the King, what end would there be of Suites. When should Crimes be punished? Appeales to the King ought to be of the more weighty causes only, and the maine matters of the Common-wealth: nothing is done herein contrary to the manner of other Nations. *Portugall* and *Naples* are governed by Vice-royes; the *Belgian* Provinces by Governours, yet no appeales from either are made unto the *Spanish* Court, albeit each of those Countries have Senatoriall persons there residing, who sollicit the Affaires of the Nation, according to their Lawes and Priviledges. But who remaine in *Poland* negotiating for *Suetland* the Ambassadors can tell: Or will they judge that those being in another Kingdome, can duely provide for the Emergencies of *Suetland*? yet admit that sundry of our Senatoriall Patriots were there, were it lawfull for them to draw the controversies of the *Suetland* thither? Neither is this a Right peculiar to us, but equally observed amongst all Nations; for what King hath desired the causes of one Kingdome in another, unlesse the one were subject to the other: The declining a competent Court within a kingdome loses the cause. Appeales to the King are not absconded but reserved in the Tribunall proper for the Majestie of the Kings of *Suetland* untill the Kings returne: Neither can he alone, even within the Kingdome, give sentence without able and unbyassed Assistants, no more then without a just hearing of the Plaintiff and Defendant: Nor is any appeale admitted by Law from the chief Tribunall unto the King, even in the most weighty Affaires, when he is within the kingdome, the Courts of Justice being administred according to custome and our written Law; how much lesse lawfull then is it, the King remaining out

out of the kingdome? And if permitted, would it not be dishonourable and prejudiciall to Regal Majesty, and to an unconquered kingdome, when the chief Court of Justice should seem to wander, like an exile in a strange Land, without fixation of place? many other inconveniencies might be apprehended by Appeals into *Poland*, as tediousnesse of way, vastness of expence, and at length the undoubted extinction of the most ancient Right of a kingdome, which is sacred and unviolable to all Nations.

Next, it is complained, That the Royall Letters and Patents are slighted; whereunto is answered, that those Letters which are the Kings, are had in reverence; but others, that is, such as are contrary to the mind, dignity, and good of the King and Kingdome are received, as if the *Suethe*s were assured, that his Majesty desires nothing that is not conformable to the Laws confirmed by the Regall Oath; and conducing to the preservation and emolument of their mutual, most ancient dignities: Such are indeed suspended, that due honor may be exhibited to the Royal hand and Seal, and that his Majesty may deliberate more maturely. But some may say, thus, more wisdom and power is attributed to the Subject, then to the Sovereign: in no wise. No question is made of the Regal Power, which nevertheless, *Alphonfus* of *Arragon* did most rightly define, when he said: unto Kings, whatsoever is honest is permitted; and that they may do what they may legally do. It was a Royall Speech of the Emperour *Honorius*, when he professed, that he, a Prince, was bound by the Lawes: by those the Kings of *Suehland* are confined. Things unequal, howbeit small at first, prove in the end obnoxious to Cities and Kingdomes. In *France* (an hereditary Monarchy) excessive bounty is frequently restrained without derogating from Majesty, even in *Suethe*s, the meanest may, by protection of Law, defend himself and his against the King, by whom if ought upon false information be ordered at the instance either of Plaintiffe or Defendant, the same without consulting (or derogating from) Majesty is ejected and abrogated. Kings have sometimes entertained Advocates for poore men, who not onely have boldly refused to obey the Regal permissions or inhibitions, but have openly, unblamed, opposed them. If this be tollerable in private persons, how can that be obtruded in the Government of a Kingdome, the King absent, which by the Law may be overthrown and may prove prejudiciall even to Majesty it self.

The Prince and Senators, are charged moreover with Treason, because they had decreed not to have regard to such Letters, as many times are by bad men, unversed in the *Sue-thish* Affairs, extorted from a gracious Prince, to the prejudice

dice of himself and the Kingdome: sometimes by private persons, who neither have nor deserve any power to enjoyn obedience. What is this, but putting the feet to do the work of the hands? whence that must necessarily follow, which the Lords Ambassadors, most prudently did alledge, *viz* The Office of the Members would be confused; all would languish; their Order would be disturbed, and the dissolution of the whole body must necessarily ensue. if his Majesty will have ought of moment acted within the Kingdome, may not his pleasure be better signified, to those that are over the same, as is usuall in all Nations? The Provinciaall Rulers have ever had such respect from kings, that the Royal Mandates are directed to them for execution according to right, or advertisement if Noxious or unjust: How much more unseemly is it to over-passe them to whom the care of the whole Kingdome is committed? yet so it is mostly that the first understanding must be from others, and that Letters are heaped to divers persons from whom most favour may be expected, not for what is expedient for the King and Kingdome but themselves. A certaine person is said to have brought Letters out of *Poland* not long since surreptitiously obtained from the King, for present payment of a certaine summe of Dollars as a due debt which summe had been satisfied some yeares before: Do not such Letters deserve regard? Some are brought into the Kingdome manifestly taxing the Prince and others of Infidelity toward his Majesty, the names concealed, tending to incite, the Popularity especially, to insurrection, by which like instigations, probably the Governour of *Finland* hath dared to oppose the whole Kingdome of *Swethland*: The King consented; yet doubtlesse not of his owne accord, but by the counsels of wicked men, and to his owne and the kingdomes detriment. For, then discord, nothing is more pernicious in kingdomes, (especially) if it proceed so far that by one faction he thinks to oppress that which (but undeservedly) he conceives to be another. But thus in destroying one by another, he ruins the kingdome, even his Country.

The examples of *France* and the Netherlands alledged by the Lords Ambassadors, serve here very fitly: For the *French* fell not into so many Calamities by any Nationall disobedience towards their King, but by the quotidian, violent subtle snares set for expulsion of the Protestant Religion; whence that kingdome was so many years afflicted with mutuall Slaughters, Rapines, Rapes, Incendiarismes, Sacriledges, and mens minds so exasperated, that a Civill War seemed to be rendred perpetuall: And whilest one Party endeavoured a Propagation, the other a defence of Religion, no roome for Religion appeared to be left by either; the blood of their Kings and Prin-

ces partly extirpated : And they thus tearing out each others bowells, a third invades, pretending indeed Religion, yet perhaps more gaping after the *Gallican* Dominion, as being accustomed to have kingdomes fall to his share for reimbursement of Costs:

But return we to *Flemingius* who in time of peace, enrolls, assembles, entertaines Forces ; to what end ? meerly to consume what the Enemies have left, to destroy those Subjects whom the Wars had spared : Infinites of them complaining that their marrow, blood, and bones are sucked. Let his Majesty be moved with the miseries of *Finland*, which bordering on the *Russian* was made the Seat of War mostly by our owne, and likewise exposed to the Enemies incursions and depredations, but now more calamitously exhausted by waging and entertaining a not necessary Souldiery : The King is obliged by Oath to protect and vindicate the Innocent and the Needy from all Injuries whatsoever, and to preserve the publike peace.

How much more prudently may his Majesty abolish, not nourish discord by the misery of the Subject, wherewith doubtlesse God is offended ? Let his Majesty command a deposing of Armes, and that all Controversies may be judicially decided : To restrain Compatriotall hands from mutuall Massacres is the part of a most Excellent, Pious, and Christian King : Let his Majesty write and command things honourable for himselfe and the kingdome, Obedience shall follow : for such as are other let a suspension be permitted : And as *Mahetas* appealed from the sentence of *Philip* of *Macedon* to the same King better informed ; even so the *Suetes* : His Highnesse and the Senators do moreover beseech that during his Majesties Raigne and his Highnesse Vice-gerency assisted with the Senatoriall Counsellors, the kingdomes Lawes may not suffer subversion.

When *Charles* the fifth, after Royall Entertainment in *France* by *Francis* then there Raigning, had at the request of the said King created some Knights and Barons, their Honours were afterwards disputed and concluded invalid, because conferred in anothers Dominion, wherein he had not Right of Majesty, the Dignity of each Realme salved. For those Rights are no where preserved but in the kingdome where they are legitimate ; transported abroad they are easily obscured. *Suetland* hath written Lawes and famous Constitutions from the times of Queen *Margaret Ericke* the 13th. *Albert* and other Kings, not abolished nor antiquated, wherein is expressly provided, that the Kingdomes Affaires shall in the Regall absence, be administred by the Native Counsellours, Peers, and great Officers of the same : Neither are the Royall Com-

mands, when given without the Kingdome, to be obeyed further then they shall by the Counsell be approved, and this is ratified by evident Lawes, Regall Oathes, and Hereditary Covenants. Writings are extant between King *Gustavus* and *Erick* the 14th. his Son, whereby (upon his intended Voyage for *England*, to have matched with *Elizabeth* that Nations Queen) he was expressly bound to refer all the Affaires of *Suethland* unto the King his Father, or he being dead, to the Vice-gerent and the Senators. And when afterwards he should the second time have undertaken the like, to commit them to *John* Duke of *Finland*, Governour ( afterwards King) of *Suethland*, together with the Senators.

Let it be moreover considered, how fully and sufficiently either Realm was provided for at the marriage of *Philip* of *Spain* with Queen *Mary* of *England*, that the Pre-eminency and Dignity of each might be preserved entire, and not wander with the Kings Person into a strange Kingdome: Yet both are hereditary; but the Argument expressed in our Laws, is much more forcible; for the King is obliged, even here remaining, to govern *Suethland* by the counsel of the native Senators, not strangers; how much more therefore when remote and necessitated to use the Eyes and Ears of others? the Senators also of this Kingdome are tyed by Oath to admonish the king seriously and frequently to preserve the kingdomes Laws and Royalty unviolated, which albeit it be no easie task: yea, for the most part undeservedly dangerous, yet they have willingly undergone it, and discharged their parts at his Majesties being here; so as the Ambassadors present trouble might have been spared, if time had been then improved; for the kingdomes affaires were begun to be treated with fidelity and due diligence; but hardly could the Inauguration be proceeded unto without great difficulty and longer contest then was meet about things not ambiguous, formerly sworne unto and confirmed. The forme of Government, by diverse counsellis and alterations was protracted even to the time of departure, no consent of the Senate concurring; and it was manifestly purposely so done by advice of persons not well affected to this Kingdome, or ignorant of affaires, or fit to be ejected from the Results of *Suethland*: or lastly, such as had secretly concluded, the Kingdome should be Governed by the rule of Succession, but the *Suethes* by that of Servitude: This they detest, the other they submit unto, and will maintaine unviolably, as the bond of their Liberties preservation and increase, not of obtrusion of slavery, which the hereditary Covenants do clearly demonstrate.

No Taxe or Tribute was commanded in that Parliament, but a voluntary supply tendred according to the Legall form  
for

for causes in the Law expressed; *Viz.* Repairing the charges of War.

The matter of money, as of no great concernment, was almost forgotten; for the priviledge of coining hath been conceded to severall Princes and Cities without violation of Majesty: At *Vaslena* money is coined with the conjoined names of his Majesty and the Prince his brother, with which impression the King his Father had coined, in signe of Concord, at the beginning of his Raigne, and soone after voluntarily conferred the said priviledge upon the Duke his brother during life.

This is the answer thought meet to be given to the Lords Ambassadors, and it is most earnestly desired that the same may be accepted without offence to his Majesty, whom the State and Orders of the Kingdome do honour and reverence with all integrity and fidelity, and albeit the same be at length, yet is it not that the *Suethes* are obliged to render account to any but his Majesty, and (he) within the Kingdome, but that their cleerness from the treason tacitely implied may appeare to all the World. Sundry other Stigma's are cast upon that *Sudercopian* Transaction, which by this Kingdomes Lawes and Statutes will be easily evinced: Albeit they acknowledge the States and Orders of *Poland* and *Lithuania* for fellow Subjects under the most just Empire of one and the same King, yet not for Judges: The said Orders may understand that his Highnesse and those of *Suethen* dissent not from them in any thing; but least in the love of concord, and hatred of dissention; nor can ought be more acceptable to them then a compofure of all differences by an equall and mutuall moderation. It may be effected if the Councell of whom it behoves may be admitted, waving threats from the threatened who feare them not. Otherwise if the controversie (which God forbid) must be decided by Armes, not onely the King and Prince themselves, but the neighbour Princes and Territories also may be disturbed, perhaps with great prejudice to the Regall Family, for what side soever should win, it would be to him detrimentall, as many times in Civill Warr both Parties, being weakned, do easily become a prey to any third.

The Orders therefore of *Poland* and *Lithuania* are in loving and brotherly manner desired by his Highnesse and the Senators of *Suethland*, as a thing worthy of their prudence, equity, and mutuall society, becoming fellows and friends, the Ambassadors likewise intervening to endeavour the eradicating of this suspition from the mind of his Majesty who is King and Lord of both the Peoples: And that themselves also will eject it, and will intreat, admonish, and conjure his Majesty

Majesty not to be induced by the Counsell of wicked persons to the meditating of any hurt to this kingdome, nor suffer his Royall mind to be alienated from his Paternall Soil; And that they will consider not in what way of Religion the *Suetbes* worship God, but with what fidelity and sincerity they reverence their King.

The Ambassadors desire an abrogation of things contrary to the Lawes, and the same is instantly sought by his Highnesse and the Senators. Let the heads of the *Suetbish Law*, whereby the King and Subjects are mutually bound by Oath, be scrutinized, so as the least deviation may easily be found, and the generall Conclusion followes in these words: *We (viz.) The Subjects are obliged to our Sovereigne in true obedience; That is, to obey his command in all things feasible, which before God and man he ought to command, and we to obey, saving his Rights and our owne.* At *Sudercopia* nothing was concluded repugnant to the Lawes and Statutes of this Kingdome confirmed by Oath. If any think otherwise let those be Judges and Arbitrators; they are not obscure, ambiguous, nor abrogated, but sometimes Sacramentally Corroborated. No Article is annulled by Hereditary Succession, onely the Election altered into a right of Devolution. To this Scale those Transactions are submitted: The Duke and Senate refuse not to render an account to a most mild and gracious King. Let the *Suetbes* adhere to and without blame enjoy the Lawes and Priviledges acquired by their owne and their Ancestors great Merits, which his Majesty hath sworn to preserve; and let him then (as we desire and hope he will) with the same patience that a *Macedonian King* reviewed a private cause, examine that of his most ancient and now Hereditary kingdome within the Paternall Soil: And so lend an eare to Accusers as not to refuse another to them unpossessed of Calumny: And they do hope that the Orders of *Poland* and *Lithuania* are so equall toward all men, as themselves will not onely forbear suspition in the future, but evidence the innocency of the *Suetbes* to others also. If otherewise, and that for private profit and favour, they will have no regard unto their innocency, it may produce danger; one mans damage being sometimes hurtfull to his Neighbour. *Poland* is a flourishing kingdome, and may it ever flourish: Neither doth this want Monuments of having flourished: If now it appeare wasted by a continued War, what wonder? What Kingdome or Common-Weale hath waged War full thirty six years with its owne Forces and charge and is not wasted, so as it may seem fit for any obtrusion? Neverthelesse the said Orders are perswaded that as a rapid overflowing River, incountring some of the largest Trees, felled in the neighbour grounds,

grounds, hurries them into the same precipice: So the fall or least mutation of the ancient State or Government of potent kingdomes, draws others with it into ruine.

The Prince and Senate do therefore heartily desire the States and Orders of *Poland*, to interpose their power with his Majesty, that regard may be had to this defence, and that they will employ their Wealth and Fortunes and what else is dear unto them, for the preservation, not the subversion of Lawes and Priviledges, then which there cannot be a stronger confirmation of the Royall Scepter; or way more durable for retention and encrease of the Royall Dignity of a two-fold Crowne, nor ought more worthy of the *Polish* Nation, for the Vindicators of liberty and the maintainers of priviledges, have ever been in laudable estimation: And therefore it is not feared that they will go about to obtrude upon others, what they would account to be unjust if done unto themselves. The *Suethes* have alwaies much esteemed the *Polanders*, and will with them, if need shall be, defend his Royal Majesty with the hazards of their lives and fortunes, and fixed upon the Regall Oath, will, with the *Polanders* remaine constantly faithful and obedient toward their King, and willingly on their part preserve the ancient Concord between the two Kingdomes, saving to each their right: And do returne offers of readinesse and propensity to all Offices of love unto the Senate and Orders of *Poland*, and the great Dukedome of *Lithuania*, to whom they desire to be in most respective manner remembred, and do entreat that this answer may be received in good part, according to the time, as being wholly necessary for their own defence, no way intended for reproaching or inveighing. To conclude, a quiet Navigation with prosperous winds and happy returne unto their Principalls and Friends is wished to the Lords Ambassadors, by his Highnesse and the Senate.

This was the substance of the *Polish* Ambassadoriall Oration, and of the replies made thereunto by Duke *Charles* and the Senators of *Suethland*; Who neverthelesse do say, that this Legation was instituted to no other end then the abrogation of the *Sudercopian* Conclusions, those Ambassadors divulging that the sayd Assembly was much derogatory to the Royall Majesty and Authority, and by their perverse contention procured the sudden breaking forth of formerly buried dissentions, which brought many to their last end with incomparable mischiefs upon *Suethland*, *Finland*, and *Leisland*: When the Duke therefore saw that, for his labour and love toward his Countrey and Nephew, hee was requited with such ingratitude, and that the Embassie fore-mentioned, was accompanied with so many prejudices to the Nation, not

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without

Parliament at  
Arbogia.

without a Charge of high Treason, he was constrained to call another Parliament at *Arbogia* against the fifth of *March*, 1597.

To this Comitall Convention all the Orders of the kingdome, according to the custome and necessity, were invited; and by King *Sigismundus*, the repaire thereunto, strictly prohibited, hoping by his Mandates dispersed through the kingdome, to deterr the Natives therefrom, as he had by his late Legation gained the adhærency of severall Senators, of whom the chief were *Ericke Sparre*, *Hogenschildus Bielke*, *Claudius*, and *Turo Bielke*, *Gustavus*, and *Steno Laner*; *Georgius Possé* the Son of *Canutus*, with the more eminent of the Equestriall Order, who were imbued, by those Counsellours of the kingdome, that what the Senators should do the said Order was to subscribe unto and follow, whereby many of the chief Nobility, Military Commanders, Clergie and Burgeses, through the wicked perswasions of those Senators, declined their appearance, as did those Senators themselves, none reparing to the same, Count *Axell* of *Rasborg* excepted, albeit the generality of the Equestriall Order, Counts, Barons, Gentry, Prelates, Military Officers, Burgeses, and common people, flocked thereunto without regard to the example or Malignant inducements of the Senators.

The particular transactions in that Parliament I omit, referring (as before) the curious to the Acts themselves, the most materiall being an exclusion of all mixt religions as displeasing to God, pernicious to Soules, tending to persecutions, mutuall hatred and dissensions, with an asseveration or assurance of remaining constant, God assisting, in the Doctrine received, and that they would not permit the exercise of any other Religion to be received in any part of that Kingdome, (the Kings private Chappell, when he should be within the kingdome, onely excepted) and whosoever should secretly or openly transgresse this decree and generall agreement, by acting contrary to their Subscriptions and Signatures, they were to be reputed as perfidious persons, and to be shunned by all honest and ingenious people.

The reiteration of their assurances of fidelity to their King followed next in order according to the Union of Hereditary Succession, the Testament of King *Gustavus*, or his last Parliament, *An.* 1560. celebrated at *Stocholme*, as also conform to their owne late conclusions at *Sudercopia*; for the confirmation whereof this convention was chiefly instituted, wherein was further enacted, that all Dissenters from their and the *Sudercopian* Decrees, who should not declare themselves within six weeks (excepting those of the remoter Provinces, to whom longer time was allotted) should be reputed as Disturbers

bers of the Common-wealth, and to be cut off from the body Politick. On whom (after due information and exhortation) fit punishment was by his Highnesse, with consent of the Senatoriall (and other) Orders to be inflicted: The like for all of what soever condition or degree, who should for any respect desert or fall off therefrom: The Commotions in *Finsland* were also resented, and the sufferings of the people there, in order whereunto it was decreed that some persons of good repute should be sent thither with severe Injunctions to all parties to depose their Armes, and demean themselves peaceably, and where any just cause of complaint was, the same to be legally discussed and decided, and that his Majesty should be humbly moved by those who should be deputed towards him, that by his Royall Authority there might be a ceasing of these disturbances and provinciall devastations; but if it should be certainly found by faithfull Messengers, that those tumults did not end but rather encrease, and that counsell nor admonition would not take place, that then other proceedings corresponding to the Regall Oath and to the *Sudercopian* Constitutions should be made, whereby the Kingdome might not be further damnified. Provision was likewise made for the ease of the Subject in certaine particulars, untill a totall alleviation might ensue.

They also bound themselves to Unity and mutuall defence with lives and fortunes, against all persons who should offer or attempt any violence towards the observers of those things which were in that Convention established: yet still with reservation of the fidelity due to their Supream Majestrate, and the concord wherein they were by Law and right bound unto each other. This Transaction was (as aforesaid) at *Arbogia* the fifth of *March*, 1577.

But this Parliament was not more pleasing to King *Sigismundus* then that of *Sudercopia*. Dissentions (say the *Suetbes*) being raised up in each corner of the Kingdome, the Orders therof declined by troops the conventional Conclusions; That brood of Senators (not to digresse from their owne words) perswading the severall States not to adhere unto or repute the *Arbogian* decrees for legall, albeit concurring with those of *Sudercopia*, and feeding all degrees of people with hopes of the speedy returne of King *Sigismundus*, to the great emolument of the Country and Inhabitants thereof; and that the *Arbogian* Constitutions were to be the lesse esteemed, in regard the Senators with certaine chiefs of the other Orders, did not assist at or subscribe unto them.

With the like allurements and fucacious perswasions (say the *Suetbes*) they seduced many of the severall Orders: which done, they with their Wives and Children abandoned the Kingdome

*Displeasing to  
King Sigis-  
mund.*

Kingdome, maliciously pretending they neither could nor would assent unto the *Arbogian* results: But chiefly as understanding that the Plenipotentiary for Government with the Defensoriall Letters obtained from King *Sigismundus*, that they (six or seven Senators, Duke *Charles* in a manner excluded) should manage the Government in the Regall absence, would not attaine that Authority hoped for; the same importing that if Duke *Charles* were not therewith contented, those Senators, assisted by the Malitia of the Kingdome should prosecute him and his partakers as open Enemies; their Goods to become a prey. as the more curious may see in the said Plenipotentiary, dated at *Warsaw* the thirteenth of *January*, 1597. and the Defensorialls likewise of the twenty third of *May* next following. Neither contented onely to have sowed seeds of dissention between the Inhabitants of *Suetland*, *Poland* and *Lithuania*, they perswaded the States of *Poland*, without cause or præmonition to undertake with their King a Military expedition against his Native Country, to oppress contrary to right, the Duke and his Assistants, without admitting those equitable conditions sundry times tendred by himself and followers conducing to his Majesties and the kingdomes good: Nor were they without succesfull hopes if the king had gained the *Finlandian* forces he daily expected thence.

Inconveniencies  
ensuing.

The miserable condition of the Inhabitants there, may be conceived (say they) by the butchery of many thousands of innocent persons; which mischief beginning in *Finland* did extend even to *Suetland* also; the face of things being such in that Province, as that many Colonies, with their Wives and Children, abandoning their Habitations, were constrained to flye unto the Duke for relief, which also turned to the greater hurt of some: For the fore-named Governour of *Finland* with his Accomplices, diligently watched to hinder them from informing the Duke of their condition: some, for the like complaints, being cruelly put to death, infringing thereby the Protectionall Letters, which the Duke, as Governour of the Kingdome had, by the Lawes of *Suetland*, full power to give in the Regall absence: Neither was the King unacquainted with the afflictions of *Finland*; those, with other grievances having been signified unto him by the Duke by Letters at large from *Nycopia*, the twenty second of *May*, 1597. yet no redresse was granted, but the same rather approved, and the said Governour reputed and saluted by the name of his most faithfull Subject and Counsellour.

The King remained (as the *Suetes* assert) not onely unmoved with those miseries of his people, but by Letters from *Warsaw*, of the twenty eighth of *Aprill* preceding, had incited the *Finlandians* with their Governour thereunto, so as the Duke

Duke was necessitated to make an expedition into *Finland*; where, assisted by Divine providence, he freed that suffering Province from oppression, the Opposers neither daring to try it in the Field, nor to defend the Forts they were possesst of, whereby the Tumults in *Finland* were so appeased in the year 1597. as they needed not any more to apprehend the like.

Notwithstanding all these things, with others fore-mentioned, perpetrated (as the *Suethes* alledge) by King *Sigismundus* and his evill Counsellours: The Duke with the Senators of the Kingdome, by Letters, he of the fourteenth, they of the twentieth of *February*, 1598. dated from *Ubsall*, seriously invited his Majesties returne, in quiet and peaceable manner to settle the Affaires of his Native Kingdome. But contrary hereunto (say they) he repaired thither with an Army of eight thousand horse and foot, and a hundred Sail of Ships, to which extraneous forces no smal number of *Suebish* Souldiers, with sundry of the Nobility and Military Commanders (hoping thereby to gaine great Stripends) joyned themselves through the crafty allurings and seducements of those unfaithfull Counsellours, as themselves found when too late, for things not succeeding to the Kings desire, he deserted them without refuge or comfort.

K. Sigismund invited by the Duke and Senators to returne in peaceable manner.

Comes with an Army.

King *Sigismundus* landing at *Calmar* with his Army, Duke *Charles* likewise raised forces and approached toward *Stegsburg*, and desired (by severall Letters and Messengers) to be certified of the cause inducing his Majesty to returne into his Native Country with such a numerous armed attendance, and withall that he might be admitted to a conference with his Majesty, but the King also marching toward *Stegsburg* soone gave notice (say they) of the ends he came for, by a sudden on-set, wherein some hundreds were slaine on either side: Which hostile Act the Duke would not revenge (albeit power was not wanting) but shewed himself willing to embrace a friendly composure and pacification with the King and those unfaithfull Counsellours.

D. Charles raised Forces.

There were at the same time present with the King, severall Ambassadors from the Prince Elector of *Brandenburg*; the Marquesse of *Ansbach*, and Duke *Ulricke* of *Mecklenburg*, with whom those Counsellours were earnest (at least in pretence) to endeavour a pacifying of the differences between the King and Duke *Charles*, which they did to their utmost, but seeing their labours fruitlesse they departed, and were by his Highness Order honourably conveyed unto the borders of *Denmarke*: The Duke also made offer of answering before equitable and competent Arbitrators to whatsoever could be objected against him, and desired that the King would make choice

Pacification mediated by Forraigne Ambassadors in vaine.

Y of

of six persons of the Nobility and so many of the Military Officers to meet with an equall number to be elected by himself for a friendly composure of all differences: but the King (as they) forthwith permitted the Marquesse of *Baden* and *Wejers* to discharge his Ordinance against the Dukes Forces, and gave order to the Generall of his Army *Georgius Farnsebecius* to charge into the Dukes Camp in the silence of night, with his whole Forces, and to slaughter all he should meet with, and albeit the Duke and those of his side attempted nothing that was not lawfull and consentaneous to their Oath, yet they reape no other reward then open enmity, secret hatred, and treacherous machinations; for by deferring all amicable transactions, they onely waited the approach of Auxiliary Forces from *Finland*, for the more commodious execution of their tyrannous intentions.

At last, King *Sigismundus* perceiving that assistance from *Finland* was in vaine expected, and that a gallant Navy of the Dukes approached, his Army was therewith so terrified, as that, not daring to make longer stay, he with his whole power withdrew, secretly under night, from *Stegeburg* toward *Lincopia*, abandoning his Ships and Ordinance, with other things of great moment: yet for the better understanding of the History, let us view the heads of the whole passage before (he left) *Stegeburg*, beginning at the time of the rendition of *Calmar*: And first we will premise the instructions given by Duke *Charles* unto Prince *Gustavus* Duke of *Saxony* and *Westphalia*, with *George Claudius*, and *Olaus Hard*, for the Government of *Calmar*, the same dated the tenth of *June*, 1597. in the severall Articles whereof is contained.

Instructions by  
D. Charles to  
the Governors  
of Calmar

1. **T**Hat they preserve the sayd Fort for his Majesty and the good of the Common-weale, and that they admit not of any Person, of what degree soever, to enter the Castle without Letters from his Highnesse to that effect, nor suffer any dissipation to be made of the Ammunition, or other necessaries to the Castle appertaining.

2. That they containe the Inhabitants in due obedience to his Majesty and his Heirs, and to his Highnesse during his Majesties absence.

3. That they maintaine the Subjects (there) in their former Liberties and Priviledges without violence, injustice, or extortion by bribery.

4. That

4. That they endeavour the preservation of the Crowne rights from diminution, and that all things imbezelled may be restored.

5. That his Majesty coming to *Calmer* in peaceable manner, like a gracious King, conforme to his Coronation Oath, and the Lawes of *Suethland*, the Gates of the Castle be open to receive him with all due reverence and honour. But that, if his Majesty should approach with armed Bands in a way of violence, to devast and destroy his native Soile, contrary to his sayd Oath, the Laws of *Suethland* and of Nature, they should not then permit his Majesty, or any in his Name, to enter the sayd City or Castle, but should defend the same with all their might, untill (upon advertisement) they received answer from his Highnesse, that the King and he were reconciled: And that in the meane time they admonish his Majesty to desist from violence, and if any extraneous force should attempt the place, they were to oppose the same to the utmost of their power.

6. That they reparaire the Walls and Towers, &c. according to their abilities, and the necessities emerging, not permitting the Baths or Stoves to perish.

7. That as need should require, they order the Souldiers commanded by *Abraham Nicolas*, *John Gustavus*, and *Nicolas Finno*, to keepe the City watch carefully, that no sudden irruption or other violence happen therein.

8. That by the helpe of the Citizens and Souldiers, the Fabricks begun should be continued and finished, and that the Money by his Highnesse thereunto ordained, be imployed about the same.

9. That they behave themselves friendlike, and peaceably toward the neighbour Nations, *Viz* the *Dane*, according to the agreements between those flourishing Kingdomes.

10. That they pacifie all quarrels and contentions, and that they speedily certifie his Highnesse of those difficulties

difficulties which of themselves they could not reconcile; and that they extend not punishment of death unto any without first acquainting him therewith.

Further Instructions.

**T**HAT they should adhere to their former Instructions; to wit, that if the King should come to *Calmar* in a peaceable way, according to his Oath made at his Coronation in conformity to the Lawes of the Land, and would assure them by Letters Patents to make no violent attempt against the Duke or any other faithfull Subject of high or low degree, but to act in all things according to his said Oath, literall security, and the Laws of *Suetland*, and thereof secure his Hignesse, and should withall promise and engage, not to admit the *Polanders*, or any other of his extraneous Attendants (but onely Natives of *Suetland*, adhering to his Majesty) into that Fort and place, that then the gates both of the City and Castle should be set open, and his Majesty be received according to their ability, as was meet for their Lord and King.

But if his Majesty should refuse to give such security, pretending the same to be needlesse, they were then to reply, that they had received command from his Highnesse not to permit the entrance unto any without it: And that if his Majesty should persist in such refusall, and offer any violent attempt, whereby Conjecture might be made of his further intentions in a hostile way, they should not then open the gates to his Majesty, or to any other in his name, and that if any strangers arriving there, should endeavour a forcible entry, they were not to make any agreement or transaction with them, but manfully (even to the last) resist force with force.

These Instructions sent to the persons before named, Duke *Charls*, when he heard of the arrivall of King *Sigismundus* at *Calmar* with a forraign Army, wrote unto him by *Lindormus Ribbing*, to this effect.

Letter of D.  
Charls to the  
King.

**T**HAT the Relation of his Majesties safe arrivall at *Calmar* was most acceptable unto him, but that he was troubled at the burthening of his hereditary kingdom with forraign forces: that this strange manner of return gave him cause of suspicion, as having been most maliciously traduced unto his Majesty by wicked and perverse persons, as appeared by several Letters dispersed through the Kingdom, which the *Finlanders* also (who were then repulsed) had not concealed: That he besought his Majesty not to be moved by false suggestions to attempt ought against him, or others his Majesties true Subjects

jects, in prejudice of his Oath and assecuration given to him with the *Suethish* Nation in generall: that for his own part, he had and would keep his engagement unviolably and would receive his Majesty, as it became him to do, his Nephew and his King: That he desired to be advertised whether any forraigners or seditious Natives came to bereave him of his Patriall or domestick Peace: That if any would accuse him, he would stand to a legall triall.

He likewise desired to be informed, when, and by what wayes his Majesty would proceed to his Regall City, that he might be attended according to his Dignity: Lastly, that if his advice were of any value, his Majesty would dismisse that extraneous Army, the introduction whereof might have been better spared, and desiring an answer by the bearer, he commended his Majesty to the Divine Providence, these were dated at *Stockholme* the fifth. of *August*, 1598.

**D**uke *Charles*, soon after, sent a second Letter by *Christoph Saprodius*, importing that understanding his Majesty had imprisoned those, to whom in his absence he had committed the Government of *Calmar*, albeit they behaved themselves not otherwise, than as became faithfull Subjects, by opening the gates to his Majesty, according to their Order, and that his Majesty detained certain Messengers, as *Tico Laurentius* and others: That his Majesty likewise taxed him for not sending a Navy, according to reiterated desires; He much wondered what these things should mean; and did therefore entreat his Majesty seriously to ponder the matter, and weigh how he had carried himself in his Majesties absence, whereby he would undoubtedly find, how untruly he had been reported of. He also earnestly desired, that His Majesty would dismisse those strangers whom he had brought in, to the scorn and prejudice of the Nation, and that he might understand by the bearer, whether he would (as a gracious and peaceable King) observe his Royall Oath and assecuration, as he (on his part) did assure his Majesty of Sincerity and fidelity. These were from *Nicopia* the 8. *August*. 1598.

The Dukes second Letter.

A Schedule of the 27, of that Moneth, was likewise delivered to certain of the chief *Ostrogothian* Rusticks, then going to the King, who were enjoyned by his Highnesse to insinuate and crave answer (if admitted to the Royall presence) upon his Desire of a Personall Conference with his Majesty in place convenient; and that if the same were granted) his Highnesse might obtain Pledges for his own person, with a List of the names of those that should accompany his Majesty, as well Natives as Aliens: That his Highnesse

Z would

would give the like, and that afterwards there might be further Treaty, partly of the Persons of the Pledges, partly of other things.

*Answer to K.  
Sigismund.*

**A**T last, the Kings Answer came, containing that he had received the two Letters sent by his Dilection, in the first of which, albeit Gladnesse for his Arrivall was signified, yet no signes thereof had appeared: That in reference thereunto, he did mutually congratulate, partly by reason of Consanguinity; partly as conceiving, that the *Suetes* in generall were not unwilling to see their lawfull King in his hereditary Kingdome: That as to the complaint of burthen by a forraign Army, he had been moved thereto by weighty Considerations, his Dilection detaining his proper Subjects and Ships contrary to expectation and promise; and that, instead of an honourable reception, his Dilection kept from him his own Servants and Souldiers; had pitched his Camp, threatening an irruption into his Army. That he left to Consideration, whether those exhaustings of the Kingdome and Subjects were corresponding to his Letters and promises, himself being forced to live like a stranger upon his private purse, whilest the *Suetes* contributed more to the Ducall Army, than his reception and maintenance would have amounted unto.

That he hoped, as he also desired, willed and commanded his Dilection to cease those troubles: That those Forces were not brought thither to begin a War, but to attend his Person, partly for security, wherever he might happen to arrive, partly granted by the Orders of *Poland*, as a train befitting his State, and could not therefore be any Scorn, but rather an honour to his Countrey, which had been wanting in the like duty; a thing no way honourable for himself or them: That whereas his Dilection suspected the same to be intended for his prejudice by the perswasions of perverse and troublesome people, he was ignorant of any such persons or practises: That his Army did live upon their Monethly Pay, and should be disbanded upon the repair of his Native Subjects unto him: That he had resolved to leave all persons to the vigour of the Laws, and that the desirers of Domestick Peace might enjoy the same, The Regall Jurisdiction reserved entire, as he had not long before, and lately by *Tico Laurentius* signified unto him.

That he wished the promises of observing unblamedly what had been sworn unto, and of a reception corresponding to the Regal Dignity (which he willingly received) might be seconded by effects, which hitherto they had not been, and but small hopes for the future, according to the reports

ports made of the unnecessary Military expedition undertaken by his Dilection, the decision and disposing whereof he committed to God.

That as to the imprisonment of those found in the Fort of *Calmar* which in his second Letter he argued to be contrary to Justice and to promise; it was evident that no injury was done unto them, and wished that more hard measure were not offered to his owne Servants in the like case, and of greater authority: That he hoped and was perswaded his Dilection would not fall into extremities, by giving beginning or cause of effusion of blood, which himselfe would by all faire meanes decline and shun; so as if things should fall out otherwise, hs might have a cleer conscience before God and the World: herewith he committed his Dilection to the Divine goodnesse. These were given from the Campe at *Stegenburg*, the 24th *August*. 598.

I have onely recited the heads of these Letters, the whole being over-long to insert. and shall use the like abbreviation in those that follow, referring the curious, for further satisfaction, unto the things themselves.

**T**O these Letters the Duke returned answer by *Lindor-* The Dukes reply.  
*mus. Ribbing*, desiring a positive Declaration of what might be expected from his Majestys returne into the Kingdome with such extraneous armed Bands, besides his raising of Horse and Foot in each Province, concerning which his Majesties Letter gave no satisfaction. That unlesse an absolute and wished answer were obtained, he should be compelled, albeit unwillingly (whereof he called God to witnesse) to renounce the Oath of fidelity made to his Majesty, as his Majesty (on the other part) had not observed his promises. But that, if his Majesty would grant to him and his followers such Letters of security, as had been by him lately tendered to the Electorall and Ducall Ambassadors for the Regall confirmation, and would dismisse his forraign Forces, referring all Controversies to a faire decision in free Parliament, in the presence of Electorall and other Princely publick Ministers; he likewise would then disband his Army, and render to his Majesty that duty and obedience whereunto he was bound by Oath: his desires being only that himself with the Orders of the Kingdome might enjoy their Habitations peaceably, and that his Majesty would not permit those perfidious Counsellours to seduce him any longer to the ruine of his Majesty, his Subjects and the Realm. These were dated at *Lindocia* the twenty seventh of *August*, 1598.

This

S conded.

**T**his was seconded by an other of the thirtieth of the said Month, wherein the Duke shewed that he never intended to receive his majestie otherwise than as became his lawfull King, which he had personally demonstrated at his Majesties arrivall, if the conclusions, made with *Samuell Lasky* his Majesties Ambasadior had been observed, and that the *Finlanders* had not rebellously fallen down in multitudes, with Shippes; Ordinance, Fire-balls and other military furniture to the very skirts of *Stockholme*, threatening rapine, slaughter and devastation to his Dukedomes when he should be gone to meet his Majesty. He therefore in friendly and brotherly manner besought his Majesty to be mindfull of his Regall promises; To dismitte those *Aliens*; to secure him and his followers, and to remit all matter of dissention to a legall inquisition and discussion in free Parliament, before equall un-interested Arbitrators: These Letters (wherin severall objections of the Kings were answered, but here for avoiding of prolix repetitions omitted) were dated as abovesaid from the *Memmian* fields, whether the Duke was then come with a strong Army:

The Regall answer.

**T**O these the King returned answer, that the transaction with *Laskie* (of the breach wherof he was taxed) was also un-observed on the other part: That the *Finlanders* by his Command had approached towards *Stocholme* to attend his coming: That they were not to be accounted Rebels who did not appose their lawfull Lord, nor obtrude upon him intollerable Conditions, but sought to protect the Regall Jurisdiction and Authority according to the Lawes of *Suchland*.

That the Army of Aliens, whereof his Dilection complained so much, should be discharged in time convenient: especially when his Dominion, Subjects, Forts, Army, Navy, Ordinance, and other things rightly belonging unto him were restored. But it was evident that his Dilection, with a numerous power, raised in his owne Dukedomes, was come against him, exhausting his Subjects with exactions and payments, so as, in his owne Kingdome he could not enjoy his peculiar Revenues: And that all things might be wanting to him and his Regall Traine in his Progresse; his owne Souldiers were invited, seduced, and entertained by the adverse party, by all which things it was evident by whose default the Countries substance was consumed.

That concerning his Dilections desire of security from violence and Injustice, and the leaving of all discords to the examination of sincere Neutrall Arbitrators, he had formerly answered that, having attained the yeares of discretion, he understood what the Municipall Law advised in that case, wherunto he resolved to adhere, and accordingly to protect his Dilection

lection and Followers, as also his other Subjects: But that, as things were, himfelfe was not permitted to enjoy a peaceable Habitation, nor the Revenues of his Kingdome, or any other thing that by the Law of *Suethland* belonged unto him.

That he therefore required his dilection to retire into his dukedom, and there quietly to remain, restoring all things he had taken from him, as also his faithful Subjects and Servants in former years, and lately (even at his doors) surpris'd and hurried into Prison: That as to further security, it was convenient and practicable, according to the best constituted Christian Lawes, even amongst equals, that whatsoever were unjustly detained should be first restored, with sufficient security for all matters of further demand: That his Dilection should likewise abstaine from the Title of Governour, usurped without the Royall consent: Himselfe being now of full age, and able by the Divine assistance, to rule alone without a Tutor; It being contrary to Justice and reason, yea a thing unheard of, that a King being of lawfull years, there should be any other Governour in *Suethland* besides himselfe. And was therefore resolv'd not to expose himselfe to derision, or to a diminution of his Honour by a longer sufferance of such Injuries: That when his Dilection should perform all these things, his Actions would then be answerable to his words, and would give a cleer testimony that he began to have a due regard unto the Royall Dignity, and to the prosperity, peace, and emolument of the Nation: That by such meanes all things might (not onely) come to a right examination, but also attaine the wished end. These dated from *Siegeburg* the third of September, 1598.

The Duke by a reply of the same date, reiterated his desire for an examination of all differences before equal Arbitrators, and complained that his former Letters had not attained the wished answer. That by these delaies he could not but conjecture that no good was intended toward him: That having hitherto tried (albeit in vaine) all meanes conducible to the well-fare, peace, and concord of his Majesty and the Kingdome, he should be forced to seek other meanes whereby to provide for the security of his person, Wife, and Children, Possessions, and People. That as he had ever been most faithful to his Majesty, and had procured his prosperity to his utmost power, so he should be grieved (whereof he called God to record) that ought contrary thereunto did befall his Majesty, to whom he wished long life, with a happy, a healthfull and peaceable Raigne.

That things being so, he did faithfully advise and diligently admonish his Majesty not to appeare abroad in the Feild, nor to betake himselfe any whither by water, but containe

A a

himselfe

*Letter from  
the Duke.*

himselfe within the Castle, least that, if any tumult should happen between the two Armies, or his Majestie chance into the Navy approaching, some danger, contrary to his desire, might befall him; and that if ought thereof did accrue to his Majesties person, Army, or Fleet, himselfe was blamelesse before God and the World, as having given timely warning whereby to prevent any such misfortune, if credite had been attributed to his Counsell rather then to the pernicious instigations and seducements of wicked men; herewith he commended his Majesty to the Divine protection. Dated from the *Mannistean* Feilds the third of September, 1598.

*Duke Charles approaching with his Army writes to the King.*

Duke Charles approaching by night neerer to the Royall Camp, gave the King notice thereof by Letter of the eighth of the said moneth, sent by two Trumpeters; importing that, seeing it appeared sufficiently his Majesty was not returned into the Kingdome to governe them according to the Municipall Laws, but rather by force and violence, in burthening and molesting his Native Soile with forraigne and homebred Forces; in reproaching and prescribing him throughout the Realme, seising and imprisoning his Servants; as also in that he had not hitherto obtained satisfactory answer to his former Letters, but that new calumnies were daily imposed upon him in publike and private, he had drawn neerer, not to use any hostility unlesse provoked, but to discover whether his Majesty would not desist from such courses, and permit him and his followers to enjoy their rights according to equity, by securing their Goods and Possessions unto them, as the condition of the times then required: All which if his Majesty would do without delay (as he did most earnestly and humbly desire) he was ready with all his Train, to attend, advice, and render to his Majesty all manner of duty according to his Obligations of Oath and blood: But if otherwise, that he was resolved not to dismisse his Troops nor depose his Armes untill their desires were confirmed in most sure and ample manner, which he hoped could not be forbidden either by Law or reason. Herewith he protested that unlesse the same were granted within the space of two houres, and that any tumult should break forth between the two Armies to the detriment of his Majesty and his followers, his Kingdome or people, he was innocent thereof before God and the world; these, as aforesaid were dated from his Campe the eighth of September, 1598.

*King Sigismund. his answer assecutorially.*

About foure daies after, King *Sigismundus* sent Letters of Assecuration, containing that whereas the most Illustrious Duke Charles had divulged rumours of his arrivall into the Land with an extraneous Army to the spoyling of the Kingdome; and the offering of violence to his Highness and followers,

lowers, and by those rumours had drawn unto his party many of his Servants and Subjects, who daily flocked unto him, into whose minds the Duke had injected and spread a great terror of his approach, albeit he had declared by many former Letters that he was returned into his Native Kingdome and Country, not to wage War, but as a rightfull King, who neither deserved nor apprehended any Rebellion, in peaceable manner, according to their joynt desires and requests, as might be testified by severall Letters, which intention of his might have given them sufficient satisfaction: Neverthelesse to the end his candour and sincerity might appeare, and his averseness to intestine discord by a Civill War: If the Duke would forthwith resigne up and restore unto him his Servants, Souldiers, Kingdome, Houses, Territories, Navy, and Ammunition, with all other things belonging to him and the Common-wealth, as also the Captives and Servants of his Subjects, would in like manner disband his Troops, retire and remaine quiet in his Dukedomes, appeare readily (when cited) in Judgment, with such of his followers as were obnoxious to blame, and thereof give present assecuration: He also would (as by these his Letters Patents he now did) promise and ensure the dismissal of his alien forces, and would not attempt any violence against his Highnesse, his people, or Servants, but permit every one to enjoy the benefit of the Lawes of *Suethland* conforme to reason and Justice, and that all persons adhering to himselfe, against whom his Highnesse might have any cause of complaint should reciprocally appear in Judgment. In confirmation whereof these were given under his hand and Seale at the Castle of *Stegeburg*, the twelfth of September, 1598.

This Assecuration seeming to the Duke unsatisfactory; he wrote back to the King within two daies; saying, That his Majesty having sufficiently understood by the Electorall and Ducall Ambassadors what had hitherto past between them, it was needlesse to use repetitions: and therefore he diligently and faithfully admonished his Majesty not to suffer evil Counsellours to draw him into any inconveniencies. That the dispute was not about Pears or Apples, but that the wellfare of his Majesty and himselfe, of the Realme and people weretherein concerned. He further advertised that having resolved to send some of his faithfull Servants to see whether any hopes of better things were yet remaining, he desired that Letters of safe conduct might be granted for them freely and without molestation to repaire to his Majesty, and (having delivered what they had in charge) to returne without hurt or disturbance. These were dated at the Campe the fourteenth of September, 1598.

*Not excepted;  
by Duke  
Charles, his  
Letter admoni-  
tory.*

The

*Regall answer.*

**T**He Kings answer was returned by the same Messenger, wherein recapitalating things fore-specified, and taxing the Duke of continued propounding new and lesse tollerable conditions, as also of imputing the same to him, albeit he had offered none but such as were lawfull and fitting: He said further, that he very well perceived his well being, the Kingdome and people was now the point in question, and not Pears or Apples as his Dilection had rightly hinted; but that he had never expected nor deserved that any such measure should be meted unto him, the examination whereof he referred to God and to Divine Justice.

Lastly, that he was contented to admit of such as his Dilection would depute unto him, not exceeding the number of eight persons, to whom he thereby granted safe conduct and security. Dated as before.

*Safe conduct  
Interchangeable  
granted.*

The Duke upon this answer, desired a more exact forme of safe conduct, for secure return from, as well as repaire unto his Majesty, which was accordingly granted at *Stegeburg*, the fiftenth of September, 1598.

*Duke Charles  
sends commis-  
sioners to the  
King.*

Hereupon Duke *Charles* delegated (the same day) three Noble men of his Counsell, *Maurice Steno* Earl of *Rasburg*, &c. *Ludbert Caverns*, and *John Ericke*, unto whom he committed sundry things to be communicated to his Majesty, in the name of himselfe and the Orders of *Suetland*, earnestly desiring (by his Letter of the same date) that his Majesty would afford them private audience and give credite to what they should deliver, and returne such answer as might be for the Kingdomes good; and concluded with assurance of fidelity and brotherly affection from himselfe.

*Contents of In-  
structions.*

Their Instructions imported, that his Majesty would graciously ponder the present miserable condition of his Native Countrey, and not suffer himself to be induced to ought that might be prejudiciall to his Royall Person, to the Duke, the Regal Family, and the whole Kingdome: That as the resolution lately given at his Majesties instance (to the Electorall and Ducall Ambassadors) was not lesse Christian then Legal, so as his Highnesse and the Orders of *Suetland* could not enlarge themselves any further: they therefore earnestly desired his Majesty to rest therewith satisfied, and to grant them the security they had submissively demanded: That otherwise, and if their humble suit could not find place, they desired to be excused before God and the Christian world, as having sought after those things that pertained to peace and  
concord:

concord : Yet that the brotherly and friendly inclination of his Highnesse toward his Majesty might further appear, he humbly desired (as formerly) that secretly and in place convenient, he might be admitted to Speech with His Majesty, which if granted, his Majesty would surely know, that many things were imputed to his Highnesse, whereof he was altogether free.

The said Commissioners were likewise to insinuate, that his Highnesse and the States of the Kingdome were (severally and joyntly) most willing and ready to render to his Majesty all possible respect and obedience, according to their Oath of Fidelity, and the written Laws of the Land : neither should his Majesty find ought by his Highness, other then tended to the welfare of him and his heirs, for whom they would esteeme nothing overmuch, that was within their power, as on the other side, they hoped that his Majesty would shew himself a meek, gracious, and peaceable Prince. Given as aforesaid.

King *sigismundus* returned Answer that he had received what by the Commissioners of his Highness had been delivered; but that they having left their Instructions with him, and desired an Answer unto them in writing, he did by these Letters return his answer and desire, That twelve of the Equestrial, and six of the Military Order of his part, might meet an equall number of the Dukes, to consult of, and compound the whole matter : And wished that his Dilection would have the same regard to the Patriall, Regal, and Ducal prosperity, which he exhorted him unto, not doubting but so all dissension would have a speedy wished end : These were of the sixteenth of the said Moneth, and accordingly ample Letteers of safe conduct (of the same date) were alternatively given by the King, and Duke for the forementioned number of the said Orders respectively.

**T**He Royall Answer to the Dukes Legation contained, that the amiable salutations and tenders of obedience, were most welcome, especially if deeds did correspond with words : That albeit, he had neither deserved nor expected such a reception into his hereditary Kingdome, as well by intollerable conditions, as by inconvenient propositions, he had neverthelesse concluded upon the asscuration more fully (as well in reference to his Highnesse as his followers) then of Right ought to have been demanded; the Act it self witnessing the same to all that desired peace and unity : But that the Duke had no way consented to the Kings desires, the Declaration delivered to the Ducall and Electorall Ambassadors, not having regard unto, nor any promising performance therof, but

The Kings Answer.

rather adding certain unsufferable conditions: the resolution it self lately exhibited to those *German* Ambassadors, and tendered to his Majesty did evidently testifie.

That his Highnesse Admonition might have been spared, in regard the King had offered no violence to him, his Army, or partakers, nor had demanded ought, save what was his own, whereas his Highnesse had compelled the Regal Subjects and Servants to take up arms; had appointed Military Stations within the Royall Territory, exhausted his Majesties Subjects; detained and consumed the annuall, Regal Revenue; imposed Taxes and auxiliary exactions on the inhabitants, prohibited provisions from being brought unto the Royal Camp for money, and after several Marches had pitched his Tents, his Army, and Canon, before the Regal gates; had in the *Rhenish* fields and elsewhere seized as prisoners sundry of the Regal Servants and domesticks; commanded the goods and moveables of them that repaired unto their lawfull King to be made Prey; and unto this very day used the Title and Authority of Governour of the Kingdome, albeit the King were present, a thing never before practised: from all which things, collection might easily be made who had first administered matter to these mischiefs.

He therefore admonished his Highnesse to sur-cease these courses, and to permit unto him the free enjoyment of his owne; that otherwise he should have cause to protest if so manifest injustice produced any misfortune; That he desired nevertheless to understand what his Highnesse intended by his protesting, and whereat the same aimed, that so he might accommodate his Interest thereunto. That he was not averse to the desired interview, and when his Highnesse should give a resolution condigne to his desires and peaceable demands, he would in due place and time consent to the Colloquie required.

That the many professions of fidelity and obedience to his Majesty and his Heirs were most acceptable from his Highnesse, and that a correspondency of effects was wished, whereby this dissention might be the better, sooner, and more peaceably composed. That he thought not the hurt of any person, but was willing to give clear testimony to all men of his Kingly clemency and favour. He therefore desired his Highnesse to weigh the whole matter seriously, and not to make intollerable and dishonourable overtures, which would not conduce to peace and concord, but afford more ample cause of strife, which he prayed God to divert, and professed he for his part would decline.

*The Dukes reply herewnto, by Nicolas Nicolai, Mauritius Geor- The Dukes re-  
gij, and Nicolas Rask the Kings Commissioners, was to this ply.  
effect.*

**T**hat touching the exprobrations used, as if his actions were not corresponding to his words, he holds his Majesty excused, as not being ignorant from what Fountaine they flowed; that nevertheless in regard it befemed not an honest man to fit his Cap with such a Crest, he returned this answer.

That they who so upbraided and objected, were to be blackt with the same Coale of calumny, untill they had really proved that his actions were dissenting from his professions: And that his performances should ever be such toward his Majesty and all other men, as might become an honest Prince whose words and deeds were consentaneous. That whereas his Majesty charged the Declaration by him delivered to the Electorall and Ducall Ambassadors ( who had interposed in that transaction ) of containing intollerable conditions, hee referred unto the Acts themselves, which he was perswaded would testifie other wise: That as to the Criminations couched in the answer, he pretermits them, as not being here competently urged, but when things should come to be rightly discussed, he would then make such reply as every honest man should acknowledge his allegations to be just.

That his Protest had no other meaning then that, if the meanes for peace that had been, should be tendred did not take effect, and that Waves of discord should arise thence, he desired to be excused before God and the World, as being innocent thereof; and that those onely who sowed and nourished the seeds of this dissention, might be reputed guilty of its effects.

That the fidelity and obedience tendred by him to the King and his Heires, never had been nor could be violated, but preserved entire, provided he might securely enjoy what of right he doth and ought to possesse.

Lastly, that nothing on his part might be wanting, as if equitable conditions for Peace and Concord were by him rejected, he willingly consented to the meeting of so many honest men, of the Equestriall and Military Order, as his Majesty required, with those that his Majesty should assigne, for a full decision of all matters; and that he wished for nothing more, then to be admitted to a personal conference with his Majesty, whereby he hoped to cleer himselfe to his Majesties satisfaction.

Duke

Duke *Charles* by his Commissioners sent also the Declaration ensuing, whereunto he resolved to adhere constantly:

*The Dukes Propositions.*

**T**hat forasmuch as the Electorall and Ducall Ambassadors were departed, whose subscriptions he had desired to the Letters of Assecuration of King *Sigismund*. he thought not meet to trust to Paper and Inke onely; but as a Pledge demanded the Fort of *Elfenburg* and the *Vastenan* Castle, wherein he might place, not his owne, but his Majesties sworne Servants, not disaffected to himself & the Orders of the Kingdome, who should there remain unto the end of the next ensuing Parliament. If this were denied, he desired he might retain the Navy with the Ammunition reserved in the Castle of *Gripsholme* untill the conclusion of that Assembly; but if this also should not be consented unto, then the Ships of War onely were to be insisted on: And if that proposition were likewise rejected by the King, those Senatorial persons formerly by him desired, or three of them at least; *Viz. Ericke Sparre, Gustavus Baner, and Turo Bielke*, were to be required as pledges.

Lastly, that his Majesty might understand his Highnesse had no other intentions then were conducing to Peace and Unity, he would rest contented with his Majesties particular assecuration, conditionally that therein were expressely inserted, *That the States of the Kingdome should be obliged to oppose and resist that side who attempted ought in prejudice of the Premises.*

*Not consented unto.  
The Regall Declaration.*

**B**ut to the assecuration (required by the Duke the seventeenth of September) the King would not consent, and in lieu thereof declared: That whereas his beloved Uncle Duke *Charles* had promised obedience to him and his Heires, and was by writing bound to remit into his hands his Kingdome, Castles, Townes, Houses, &c. his Navy, with all the Marine Provisions and Stores, and all other things to him and the Crowne of *Suetbland* belonging, and to restore to liberty his Subjects, with such of his Domesticks as he detained, who should be neverthelesse obliged to answer all Objections in full and free Parliament; as also to disband his Forces and retire into his Dukedom, there to remain quietly and be ready (with his Domesticks and Subjects against whom there should be cause of complaint) to appeare in Judgment, when all causes and controversies should be examined and decided in free Parliament, before equall and sincere Arbitrators, according to the assecutoriall Letters of his Highnesse given in that behalf.

He also had (on the other part) promised and secured and did by these his Leters Patents, and on his Kingly faith and truth promise and secure that he would governe his Hereditary Kingdome according to his Oath and assecuration: That he

he would dismisſe his alien forces, and not permit the intro-  
miſſion of any other, except neceſſity did urge, and the Duke  
and the States of the Kingdome were thereunto conſenting:  
Finally that all his ſworne Servants, whom the Duke had a-  
ny way preferred in his abſence, ſhould enjoy their former  
condition, with all the Goods and Poſſeſſions committed un-  
to them, untill in the ſaid Parliament the greivances his Ma-  
jeſty had againſt them were examined.

That moreover he would releaſe all the Dukes Servants, or  
his own, who, in the Dukes name and behalfe were in deten-  
tion either within or without the Kingdome, to be forth-com-  
ing as aforeſaid: To which end, and that all Controverſies  
and cauſes of complaint might be legally and juſtly heard and  
decided; he would ſpeedily indict a Parliament to be held  
within the ſpace of foure months, in which all things ſhould  
be examined and judged before equall Arbitrators, and E-  
lectorall and Ducall Ambaſſadors, who ſhould be thereunto  
invited. In the meane time, he promiſed not to permit vio-  
lence or injuſtice to be offered to any of the Dukes Subjects,  
Servants, or followers of what condition ſoever; nor to im-  
peach or ſentence any one for ought, which by generall advice  
and conſent had been concluded and enacted, nor to forbid  
the defence thereof, or to reject or perſecute any who had  
adhered to his Highneſſe, nor permit any hinderance or ſtop  
to be given to his Highneſſe, or others whom he ſhould ſend  
into any parts of the Kingdome, untill that all things were  
decided in Parliament, and that no further proceedings ſhould  
be made then was in Parliament juſtly and legally pronoun-  
ced: That for the further ſecurity of the Premiſſes he had  
with his owne hand ſigned and ſealed the ſame: And conſen-  
ted, that if beyond expectation it ſhould happen that himſelfe  
or his ſaid Uncle ſhould recede from, or violate this agreement  
in the leaſt: The States of the Kingdome were impowred to  
reſiſt and oppoſe the party violating: Dated from *Stegeburg*  
the ſeventeenth of *September*, 1598.

Duke *Charles*, not ſatiſfied with this literary aſſecuration,  
wrote back unto the King, to the effect that, notwithstanding  
all waies of application made by him for Peace, indignation and  
a ſiniſter conſtruction of his actions encreaſed daily, by inſti-  
gation and counſell of perverſe and turbulent men, who had gi-  
ven beginning and continuance to this Tragedy, ſo as he  
found, that whileſt his Majeſty uſed their counſell, the preſent  
differenſe would never have a prosperous iſſue: He therefore  
as a friend and brother deſired, adviſed, and admoniſhed his  
Majeſty to relinquish that band of treacherous and tumultu-  
ous Counſellours (who for their peculiar and wicked ends  
did draw his Majeſty into evill courſes) and to repaire to

*Unsatisfactory  
to the Duke.*

*Stockholme*, or where otherwise he pleased. He assured that he would not onely secure his Majesty from all hurt and danger, but also engage that himself and his followers should attend and conduct him whithersoever he desired, with all due fidelity, obedience, and promptitude: That as to others, they would proceed according to Justice, having hitherto forborne them for his Majesties sake, least he with them might have undergone some misfortune, which (notwithstanding any suggestions of him to the contrary) he took God to record, he desired not, but would alwaies be ready to avert such evill from his person, if he would have regard to himselfe, and rest perswaded of him as of his most affectionate Uncle.

But that if his Majesty (contrary to this faithfull advice) would still retaine those turbulent Counsellours, he should be carefull least with them he might rush into some danger: That if the same should happen (which he besought God to forbid) he was innocent thereof before God and the Christian World, and willing to have prevented the same, if his Majesty would have adhered to his advice rather then to the pernicious perswasions and wills of wicked men; hereupon desiring an answer he committed his Majesty to Celestiall protection: Dated from his Camp as abovesaid:

*Regall affection.*

King *Sigismundus*, the day before he moved his Tents from *Stegeburg* toward *Lincopia*, sent a Letter of assecuration, which (omitting the repetitions therein inserted) contained that, if the Illustrious Duke *Charles* would release his Servants, and restore his Army, Kingdome, Townes, Houses, Forts, and Territories: his Navy, Stores, Ammunition, with all other things to him and the Crowne of *Swethland* appertaining, set free his Subjects and Domesticks, cease from hostile Actions, retire into his Dukedome, there quietly remain, ready (with his party who were any way guilty) to appeare and answer in Judgment upon legall citation, and would thereof give security.

That he also did therby then promise and ensure the dismissal of his foraine Forces, his ordinary Train and Guard of his body excepted, and that neither toward his Highnesse, his Army, Subjects, or any other of whatsoever condition, any violence should be offered, but each one permitted to enjoy the benefit of the Laws, untill the whole matter were tryed before competent Judges: That all Persons adhering to the Regall Party (whosoever the Duke or any other would appeach) should also appeare in Judgement; and that all his Highnesse Servants who were under any restraint by reason of this Tumult, should be released: All which things he would observe and do upon his Regall Faith and Honour; in confirmation whereof he had thereunto set his Hand and  
Scale,

Seale; adding (as before) that if, beyond expectation, himselfe or the Duke should, before the controversie were legally decided: infringe or attempt ought contrary to what that Instrument contained, the Orders of the Kingdome should be obliged to resist the Party so doing. These were given at the Camp at Stegeburg the twentieth of September, 1598.

Upon receipt hereof, Duke Charles, without delay, returned these Propositions of Peace.

1. **T**Hat his Majesty would repaire to *Stocholme* without stronger Guards then the King his Father had used, in progressing through the Kingdome. Propositions made by Duke Charles,
2. That the Forraigne Forces should speedily depart the Land.
3. That the Counsellors of the Kingdome should repaire and quietly remaine at home untill the Parliament, and then appear in Judgement.
4. That the Parliament be called and kept within six moneths.
5. That Ambassadours of Germane Electors and Princes should be invited by Letters against the time, to examine the dissention, and that each side should name those whom they intended to choose: In the interim, nothing to be done secretly or openly within or without the Kingdome to the prejudice of each other, but all persons to enjoy their Mansions peaceably untill the time of Legall decision.
6. That each one retaine what he is at present possesst of, untill the time of the Comitiall Assembly.
7. That nothing of the Kingdomes affaires be decided or treated of unwitting to his Highnesse.
8. That the Finlandian Souldiers should be prohibited from entring the bounds of *Suethland*, but containe themselves quietly within the Province, and therein stand to tryall: That in the mean time there be a cessation of all pernicious Plots, and that Law and Justice be there administred to all persons.

9. That

9. That no distribution of Lands be made untill the Parliament.

10. That forraign Souldiers be removed out of the Castles and Forts, and that they be committed to the faithfull Guard of the *Suetbes*.

11. That the forraign Ships which had brought Alien Forces into the Kingdome might remaine under Arrest.

Upon these Articles the Duke desired security from his Majesty, with addition of the clause, that if any of the said Articles were infringed, the States of *Suetbland* should freely adhere to his Highnesse, whereupon he offered to disband his Forces, to retire and remaine quietly in his Dukedome.

King Sigismund retires to Lincopia.

But King *Sigismundus* slighting (say they) these conditions, retired in a calme and still night toward *Lincopia*, leaving with the Commander of *Stegeburg* certaine instructions, dated the twentieth of September, 1598. Importing,

1. **T**Hat they should continue faithfull to his Majesty in each respect, procuring his good, according to their duty and Oath.

2. That if Duke *Charles* should enquire the reason of his Majesties sudden remove, they should answer, that perceiving the sparks of this dissention could not be extinguished by equall conditions, but that lesse tolerable were daily obruded, he had withdrawne to avoid the effusion of blood, and to see whether his Highnesse would take better counsell, and cease those courses that tended to the Countries ruine.

3. That if the Duke should forceably assault the Castle, they should oppose him to their utmost power, and resist force with force.

Letter of Duke Charles.

**K**ing *Sigismundus* (as hath been said) being gone to *Lincopia*, Duke *Charles* by letter of the 22 Sept. expostulated, that instead of Answer to his former, his Majesty was departed from *Stegeburg*, and might be induced by those evil Counsellours, authors of the present dissention, to abandon the Kingdome, or repair where a larger field for tumult might be offered: That he admonished and besought him (by the passion

on of Christ) not to be seduced by them to a further remove, untill he had concluded the whole matter to the good of the Countrey, protesting, on the salvation of his soul, before God and the world, his innocency and averfeness to any prejudice might thereby arise: And desired his Majesty to believe that all things belonging to the Castle or Shipping, which after his Majesties departure had been rendred unto him, should be faithfully preserved for his Majesty.

**H**ereunto King *Sigismundus* returned Answer the day following, that he had received his Minatory Letters touching assecuration: That he wondred why his Dilection would so long time vaimish over his unjust cause before the promiscuous ignorant multitude, seeing he could not prove, but that fit assecuration had been offered, but not accepted, and that whilst one demand was granted, others were made far different, as the last Articles might testifie: That he followed him with a strong Army, having seised the Castle of *Stegsburg*, his Ships and severall other things, which notwithstanding his promised preservation of them, would have been more safe in his own custody: That in Answer to his Letter, he desired that his Dilection would rest satisfied with that assecuration, which (as consentaneous to reason and his dignity) he had already offered: But if not, that he might proceed to do what it seemed he would not leave undone; yet with what fame, he left to the Judgement of all honest and unbyassed minds: That himself committed the decision of the whole matter to the Justice of God: *Lincopia 23. September 1598.* Answer.

**D**uke *Charles* replied, That there being no remedy, but that all Admonitions proved vain through the prevalency of perverse and wicked Counsellours, he also committed the matter to God, before whom he protested, that he was not the cause of these troubles, nor of the effusion of blood like to ensue; wherefore he desired to know whether his Majesty would absolve him of his Oath of fidelity, which done, he would endeavour to repell injustice and violence by fit wayes and means: But that if possible, he besought his Majesty by the love of God, to weigh the matter more seriously, and not permit this mischief to spread further, to his own and the Kingdomes prejudice, and that nothing might be by him be omitted, he had sent a draught of the assecuration desired by him and his followers, wherein he hoped, nothing unjust would be found; *Campe 24. September, 1598.* Reply.

**T**wo dayes after, Duke *Charles* writes againe to the King, that seeing the conditions tendred were not admitted Another Letter from the Duke.

mitted, and that he could not conveniently propound any other, as also that he hoped his Majesty would so resolve, as might be honourable for both sides: He therefore desired that his Majesty would transmit a draught of the assurances he would give and receive, whereupon he would so declare himself, as might be satisfactory to his Majesty; these were dated the 26. of the said Moneth.

Safe conduct  
interchangable  
granted.

**T**He day following, King *Sigismundus* sent Letters of safe Conduct for such of the Nobility with their Servants, as the Duke should send to treat with him, importing Security in coming, delivering what they had in Commission, and safe return: Duke *Charles* also did the like for his Nephew Prince *Edward* Marquesse of *Baden* with other Lords to be sent to him from the King,

Affertions of  
the *Suetes*.

**B**Y all that hath been said, it may be easily discerned (say the *Suetes*) whether Duke *Charles* received from King *Sigismundus* answers condigne to his Letters, wherein he desired nothing but the good of the King and Kingdome, and that if he would have listned to the Dukes faithfull advice and counsel, he needed not to have fled when none pursued: Or that if he had loved Justice he might judicially have prevented those evils by a decision by equall Arbitrators, before whom the Duke and Orders of *Suetland* were willing to answer to whatsoever could rightly be objected against them: They say further, that they had oftentimes just occasion given them of renouncing all fidelity and obedience towards him, in regard he came not unto them as a good and peaceable King, but as an Enemy and Persecuter, offering violence and injustice to those that would not submit to his wicked intentions, nor admit of his perverse Religion: and that he had absolved them from their Oath of fidelity in the former Letters, whereby they had just cause to have tried the utmost, which yet they did not; his Highnesse and they having desired that twelve of the Nobility of each side, men qualified, prudent, judicious, and lovers of peace, should meet, examine, and decide the whole controversie, and restore and settle peace, concord, and brotherly love; whereunto King *Sigismundus* did likewise consent, but that the same was by him observed as other things had formerly been, and according to the ancient manner of keeping faith in promises by Jesuites and Romish Priests: For the night following the Royall Army conducted by *Wejers* made an on-set upon the Ducall Camp, dispersed the night guards, killing some and seising others Prisoners, as was done not onely at *Lincopia* but at *Stettin* also, but seeing their attempt prove unsuccesfull, both

Polanders

*Polanders* and *Suethes* who fought under the Kings Ensignes, began to cry and ingeminate Peace, Peace; which the King (say they) with his followers might have enjoyed if the Officers thereof had been timely embraced, but that it was then overlate to treat when many thousands of men lay flaine on both sides, each intending on his Enemy the revenge of his fellow Souldier.

Duke *Charles* and the *Suethes* (as themselves assert) had then both cause and advantage sufficient to have utterly ruined their Adversaries, yet they suffered themselves to be entreated, to shew more mercy and mildnesse then they had deserved, by abstaining from that revenge was then in their power to have taken, upon King *Sigismundus* with his whole Army, to the great detriment and misfortune (I use their owne words) of themselves and the Kingdome of *Suethland*, as hoping for better things in the future from King *Sigismundus*, from whom they found worse by an ensuing cruell War with the *Polanders* and *Lithuanians*, touching a finall end, whereof no certaine conjecture could be made: But that, if they had (as then they affirme they might) destroyed him and his Forces, those tumults had happily sooner ceased, and many gallant men, who afterwards perished in those Wars, had survived: Nor had his Highnesse and themselves been defamed by so many unjust aspersory Libells as were spread in all parts, which nevertheless they hoped to confute: All which things hapned by suffering King *Sigismundus* then (say they) to escape, to the further prosecution of his Country, contrary to the practise of all Magnanimous Potestates, who expose their lives to defend theirs from Spoile and Rapine.

Further assertions.

Vide Exegis Historiæ Sueciae, page 233, 234.

The cruell fight being over, King *Sigismundus* entred into agreement with the Duke for the restoring and confirming of mutuall friendship, brotherly confidence, with administration of right and justice between his Majesty and his Highnesse, whereof I give here the heads onely, referring (as in all Narrations of Acts) the more curious to the Instrument it self, dated at *Lincopia* the twenty eighth of September, 1598. And first,

That whereas the Duke his most deare Uncle, and all those of his party had religiously promised unto him and his Heires, due obedience, fidelity, and brotherly affection, according to their respective Oaths and the obligations of blood, proximity, and their ties of duty and subjection: He likewise did by his Kingly faith and dignity, Sanctimoniously promise and ensure, that neither in the present or future time he would require or take revenge of ought done or hapned during the late dissention, nor prosecute his Highnesse or his followers with

Treaty of Pacification at Lincopia between the King and Duke

with hatred or inclemency, nor any of the Ducall Ministers for obeying his Commands; nor that he would animadvert into the Authours of what had past, or punish any person for the same, but would beare and extend unto the Duke and those aforesaid, all Royall benignity and favour, and would neither by force or fraud, by himselfe or others, openly or secretly, within or without the Kingdome, act, move, or give way to any deceitfull practises which might procure hurt or damage, either in bodies or Estates unto the said Prince, his Wife, Children, Ministers, Subjects, or pertakers, nor to any of the Regall Subjects who had sided with his Highnesse, of whatsoever dignity, degree, or condition they were.

He likewise professed and promised to governe (the Kingdome) according to the Lawes of *Suetland*; his Regall Oath, and Manuall security given at his Inauguration, and to remit the deciding and composing of all differences untill the ensuing Parliament, the same to be celebrated within foure moneths, before neutrall Arbitrators, such as Imperiall, Regall, Electorall, and Ducall Ambassadors, who were to be invited by Letters: Those differences especially to be then determined, as could not otherwise be wel ended between the Native *Suetbers*: But that no decision Legall or other should be instituted, nor was needfull, between himselfe and the Duke, all controversies between them being buried by a perpetuall *Amistia*. That whatsoever had been generally concluded, transacted, and agreed upon, should not be separately answered for by any particular person, but the generality be admitted to render a reason thereof. That whatsoever in future Parliaments should be established, was to be allowed and accepted of, and each one permitted to use and enjoy the same without prejudice or molestation.

That all Prisoners and others of either party, should be obliged to appeare and answer in Parliament when called thereunto: Forraigne Forces whether in Felld or Fort, should be forthwith dismissed, the Regall Court and personall Guard excepted, which should not exceed the number formerly used in the Kingdome: All the Natives, Horse and Foot, waged by the King, should be paid and disbanded, each to return home; the Duke to do the like to those of his side. He also promised and consented, that all Castles or other places committed by his said Uncle unto any one in his absence, should so remain untill the said Parliament: As also that those five Senatoriall persons demanded by his Uncle should remaine in his power untill the decision of the whole Affaires, yet so, as to enjoy all necessary provisions, without hurt offered to their bodies or Estates.

He further graciously promised, that publication of this agreement

greement, and declarations for the clearing of his Uncle from all Crimes whereof he had been aspersed, with serious Injunctions for all men to lay downe their Armes and to embrace Peace and Concord, should be made in all Provinces and parts of the Kingdome: It was also granted that the Dukes Ministers and Subjects might securely passe and repasse through all the parts thereof, about their Masters or their owne lawfull Affaires, they behaving themselves peaceably, not raising sedition; the like liberty and security was to be enjoyed by the Regall Subjects and Ministers within the Ducall Territories. That all things pre-mentioned being thus effected, his Uncle did in like manner confirme to restore unto him, upon his repaire to *Stocholme* (whither he speedily intended) and to remit into his possession his Forts, Navy, Ordinance, with all other things belonging unto him and the Crowne of *Suethland*, which had been committed unto his Dilection, and were until then in his possession, the same to be no way abused to the ruine of his Dilection or the Country. All which the Premisses he confirmed under his hand and Seal, concluding that, if ought contrary thereunto should be acted, or any recesso therefrom made, either by himsele or his Uncle, the Orders of the Kingdome had thereby power and right to oppose and resist the party violating. Given as aforesaid at *Lincopia* the eighteenth of September, 1598.

These Covenants thus ratified, Duke *Charles* gave order to the Admirall and Commanders of the Fleet, to deliver up the Ships and Ordinance to the King (no man doubting of the unviolable observance of this Treaty) that so he might be transported from *Stegeburg*, according to the Regall Honour and Dignity. But, what (say they) hapned? When the Orders of *Suethland* expected that the King had been upon his course towards *Stocholme*, to administer Justice to every one, in conformity to this *Lincopian* Transaction, and there to summon the Parliament; they understood that he had steered first towards *Calmar*, and thence into *Poland* with the Ships and Guns, and contrary to his Oath had furnished *Calmar* with a Garrison of Aliens: this being his third diceffion from the Kingdome.

King *Sigismundus* (say they) having thus transgressed against the *Lincopian* Treaty, as he had also broken all his former Oathes and promises, the Orders of *Suethland* did thereby conceive themselves to be absolved from their Oath of Fidelity, as being bound by the said Treaty to prosecute the Violator of that agreement; and the rather because the Strangers garrisoned in *Calmar* demeaned themselves in hostile manner: as also for that King *Sigismundus* designed those Ships and Ordinance upon a Naval expedition from *Dantzic* toward *Elfenburg*,

Shipping restored.

The King steers to *Calmar* in stead of *Stocholme*.

for the subduction of that place from the Crowne of *Suetland*, and the more commodious annoyance thereof from thence with cruell War (if his intention had succeeded) thereby to obtrude his perverse Religion upon them, and to remit that Fort into the hands of strangers, as he had done by *Calmar*; and that the *Finlanders* then quiet, were againe by him stirred up, so as the *Suetes* were necessitated to resume their Armes, whereby floods of blood ensued, in which many of the Natives perished: And albeit King *Sigismundus* had many times promised those *Finlanders*, aide from *Poland*, yet he onely deceived and brought them to ruine: But ere we proceed, let us returne to see what entercourses did passe between King *Sigismundus* and Duke *Charles* after the fore-specified *Lincopian* Treaty.

*Friendly Letter  
from King Si-  
gismundus to  
Duke Charles,*

**K**ing *Sigismundus* by a most friendly Letter of, the thirtieth of *September*, made request unto Duke *Charles* in behalf of the Captive Counsellors, that their condition might be rendered more tollerable, and that neither themselves nor their Ladies might be subject to scornes or reproaches, the rather because some of those Ladies were neer in blood both to himselfe and the Duke, putting the Duke in minde of his promise to that effect at their discourse together; and desired that (those Senators giving security for their appearance) their owne houses might be their Prison, or at least that they might remaine together, not separated nor hurried from one place to another: In a Schedue annexed, he prayed the Duke to hasten the provisions promised, for the more speedy transporting of his Extraneous Forces: These as aforesayd, were the thirtieth of *September*, 1598.

*The Dukes answer.*

**D**uke *Charles* returned answer the same day, That as to those of the Senatoriall Order whom he had under detention, they should be maintained according to their respective dignities, but to live at their peculiar Houses could not be granted; the Army and Commonalty having Petitioned against it, and that the same would not onely displease the Orders of the Kingdome, but be likewise unsafe for those Senators, their Wives and Children: And that, unlesse he had lately (since they came into his power) severely prohibited the same, they had perished by the Popular fury: Wherefore he desired to be excused in that point, and entreated that his Majesty would not in the future dignifie them with the undeserved Title of his Counsellours and of honest Men, in regard they had been the causers of a vast expence to his Majesty by that foraine Army, and the Authors of cruell effusion of blood, as of other evill to his Hereditary Kingdome:

dome: And that they had exprested, but the day before, that if they had served him as faithfully as they had done his Majesty, they should have been better rewarded. That he had ordered the Provisions demanded, to be conveyed to *Stegeburg*, and to be delivered to his Majesty upon payment.

**K**ing *Sigismundus*, by Letter of the first of *October* following, desired restitution of the Affecutoriall obligation of the States of *Poland* granted to himselfe, with severall other things which had fallen into the hands of the Duke or his Servants. These were from his Court at *Lincopia*. Second Letter.

**D**UKE *Charles* replied the fourth of the sayd moneth, therein desiring that *Claudius Bielke* might be dismissed from being Castellane of *Stocholme*, as being equally guilty (with those in detention) of the Kingdomes miseries; and that *Samuel Laskie* might likewise be removed from his Rule there; as also *John Bilefeld*, with certaine of the City Consuls who had reviled him: That he would not (in like manner) lend an eare to Seducers, who might suggest ought in prejudice of the fidelity he had protested to his Majesty and his Heirs, which he would unviolably preserve, to the honour, good liking, and advantage of his Majesty. Ducall reply.

He further desired his Majesty to name those *Caesarian*, Electorall, and Ducall Ministers, whom he intended to invite on his part as Umpires for the deciding of all differences at the ensuing Parliament, himself offering to do the like: He likewise deprecated the dismission of the Aliens, if not already done, and complained of the Countreys sufferings by this Military tumult, especially in *Ostrogothia* and *Uplandia*: And earnestly requested the liberty of certaine Persons detained by the King, to whom in his Majesties name and absence he had committed the keeping of certaine places: He promised restitution of the *Polish* affecutoriall Instrument desired, so soon as he should come to *Stocholme*: And lastly, entreated that his Majesty would publish the Declarations promised for his vindication from former undeserved aspersions.

**K**ing *Sigismundus*, by Letters of the same date sent by *Nicolas Rask*, required more Shipping, for the more convenient and speedy transporting of his Army, and that the Duke would afford a friendly audience and answer to those things the sayd *Rask* (his Secretary) should deliver; as also to cause a restitution to be made of some things belonging to the Vice-Chancellor of *Poland*: And in a memoriall of instructions given to the sayd *Nicolas Rask*, commanded him to insist upon the particulars inserted in the fore-specified Letters, as also King Sigismundus requires more Ships for the transporting of his Army and sundry things to be restored.

*The Prince was born in England, An. 1565 whose Mother the Lady Cecily, Daughter to King Gustavus Erickson, and Sister to Erick, Iohn, and Charles, all Kings of Suethland, wife to Christ. Marquesse of Baden, came then into England to visite Queen Elizabeth, and by the Queen his God-mother named Edvardus Fortunatus,*

also upon the restauration of certaine Musick bookes and others, with certaine Kitchen Furniture, and a restitution of such things as had been by severall Commanders taken out of his owne Ship the *White-Eagle*, as also on the re-delivery of such things belonging to his Sister the Princesse *Anna*, as had been taken out of the Closet where the Prince *Edvardus Fortunatus* lodged: He gave also expresse Injunctions to his said Secretary, to be instant with the Duke for ceasing of Depredations which were still practised contrary to the agreement lately made, and to insist upon the enlargement of the Captived Counsellours and others (not convicted of notorious Crimes) upon bond or other security, as being consentaneous to the Lawes of *Suethland*; the rather in tender consideration of their Ladies, of whom some were pregnant, others valetudinary: That thereby his Highnesse would much oblige him, and that he would upon all occasions be ready to make compensation of like Friendly Offices. Dated as aforesaid.

To these particulars the Duke returned a satisfactory answer; That touching the Senators (under custody) onely excepted, concerning whom he desired his Majesty not to insist any further, they having been the cause of all the troubles, and had conspired the ruine and destruction of the Regall Family, not for one yeare or two, but during the whole course of their lives, and that the Imperiall, Regall, Electorall, and Ducall Ambassadors might be speedily invited and intréated to examine and decide the cause. Withall, to the said *Nicolans Rask* he delivered a Memoriall consisting of certaine heads, to this effect.

1. **T**hat the *Finlanders* and *Uplandian* Horse should be ordered by his Majesty to returne to their homes, and nor raise any more Tumults.

2. That his Majesty, conforme to his promise, would publish his Letters declaratory for clearing the Duke from former aspersions: Next that Letters might be issued for the Parliaments Indiction and Celebration within foure months, according to the promise at *Lincopia*, and that the forraigne Ambassadors might speedily be invited into *Suethland*.

3. That his Majesty (in regard of the Season) would be pleased to repaire to *Stocholme* by land, offering to meet and attend him with all love and respect, and to contribute what was in his power for the accommodation

tion of himselfe and his Traine, and gave a List of the Giftes or most commodious nightly Stations.

Last, That all Farmes, Offices of Territoriall Judicatories, with their Profits might be suspended untill the Parliament, wherein each one to render account of his Stewardship. These were dated at *Orobrogia* the eighth of *October*, 1598.

The twenty fourth of that month the Duke (by Letter) complained of the Kings steering his course to *Calmar* in stead of repairing to *Stocholme* according to his promise, and of the rumour of his departing the Kingdome: Signifying also that he hoped the miseries thereof, which were not unknown to his Majesty, might have found some redresse, if his presence had been for some time enjoyed; but that the same in this sudden discession could not be hoped for, all things being thereby left in an unsettled condition. That as he was ignorant what had moved his Majesty thereunto; so it had been necessary that himselfe and the Senators of *Suethland*, should have been informed of the cause, and that directions had been given how all Affaires should be ordered in his Majesties absence, desiring an answer by the bearer what might be expected from his Majesty by himselfe and the Orders of the Kingdome. Dated at *Nycopia* as before expressed.

*The Duke complains of the Kings going to Calmar.*

Duke *Charles*, about two daies after received a Letter from King *Sigismundus*, dated from *Calmar* the seventeenth of the said month, intimating that by a violent Storme he had been put from his course intended for *Stocholme*, and driven to that Port after two nights of tempestuous tossing on the Sea: That the Ship which transported his Sister the Princess *Anna*, with sundry other Vessels were missing; That neverthelesse he intended to repaire to *Stocholme* by land with the first opportunity: That to his Dilections demands concerning the nomination of Princes whose intervention by their Ambassadors he did purpose to entreat against the ensuing Parliament, they were the Emperour; the Kings of *Denmark* and *Scotland*, the Dukes of *Brandenburg* and *Mecklenburg*, with the Marquess of *Ansbach*; and desired to be in like manner informed of the names of those Princes whom his Dilection had concluded to invite against the said time: He likewise renewed his requests in behalfe of the fore-specified imprisoned Counsellours that they might remaine safely under the Royall Protection untill they should appeare in judgment and triall:

*King Sigismund excuses his going to Calmar.*

*Promiseth to repaire to Stocholme.*

But (say the *Suethes*) King *Sigismundus* observed these promises

Promise not  
kept, the King  
returned to  
Dantzic.

Parliament at  
Ienecopia.

misses no other wise then those formerly by him given, for instead of repairing to *Stocholme* from *Calmar*, whither (as pretended) he had been driven by tempest; after he had garrisoned the said Castle with strangers, he turned his Prow directly toward *Dantzic*: So as no remedy being left but the celebration of a Parliament in place convenient, therein to consult of the urgent Affaires and Necessities of the Kingdome: the same was by his Highnesse, with approbation of the Orders of the Kingdome, convened at *Jenecopia* in *February*, 1599. wherein was treated of the concernments of the Nation; The particulars lesse necessary to be here inserted, I shall omit and only touch some heads more pertinent to the present matter, referring the further curious to the Act it selfe.

They therein declare that they will supplicate the King by Letters to commiserate and administer help to the Kingdomes afflicted condition, and that he suffer not the same to fall to utter ruine: That they hope his Majesty will make a favourable construction of this their counsell, and so resolve as the necessity of the cause requires: That if contrary to expectation, their admonition shall take no effect, whether by Suggestions of those of the *Romish* Creed, or Apostates of their owne, they profess their innocency before God and all Christian Potentates, and that they are constrained to renounce the obedience they had untill then borne toward his Majesty, &c. This is in the fourth Section or Pause of that Act:

In the seventh, they expresse, that whereas in the late *Lincollian* Treaty it was promised that Imperiall, Regall, Electorall, and Ducall Ambassadors should be of both sides invited, to examine and decide all differences, which was not yet done; that therefore, unlesse his Majesty should make good his promise within foure moneths, they did consent and conclude to meete at *Stocholme*, the 24th of *May* ensuing, in full Parliament, and conforme to the *Gustavian* Testament, and the written Lawes of *Suetland*, the other Orders of the Kingdome being thither called and appearing, would examine the whole matter in reference to those perverse & turbulent persons who had been Authors of the Nations troubles, whereby the guilty might receive condign punishment, &c. These things with protestations of fidelity to his Highnesse as their governour, and the resisting and diverting (with their lives and fortunes) all prejudice that might be intended against his person, his Consort and Children, were concluded at *Jenecopia* as aforesaid.

The Dukes Letter and Objections to King Sigismund,

Duke Charles having received two letters from the King of Done and the same date from *Warsonia*, after a prolix repetition of the heads of each, he answered the severall objections they

they contained, and retorted back with a recapitulation of things past, taxing likewise his departure, which, he affirmed, his Majesty had not been forced unto by tempest, as had been pretended; And that, in the Port of *Barefund*, Order was given to all those that attended his Majesty to steere toward *Calmar* and not to *Stocholme*; He desired to be certified (the time prefixed at *Lincopia* for the celebrating of the promised Parliament being almost elapsed) whether his Majesty were still of the same mind, and that a certain time and place might be appointed: He taxed the King of stirring up tumults in *Finland*; Of protesting by his Ministers in *Denmark*, and elsewhere, that he was not obliged to stand to the agreement made between them; Of designs against himselfe and the Kingdome of *Sweethland*, as was evident by the Letters of *Sparre*, and *Beckus* sent to his Majesty, but intercepted and brought to him; And by the secret Plotings of the Princeesse *Anna* with Count *Axell*, by her Servant *Erick George*, shewing that his Majesty no way intended that these unfaithfull Counsellours should be brought to tryall, but to procure their safety some other way: That in the meane time those Counsellours, with others of their faction, should be kept in convenient custody, but that if his Majesty did use further protraction he should be compelled to proceed against them according to the Lawes of *Sweethland*. These were dated from *Jenecopia* the first of *February*: 1599.

**T**His letter was accompanied by one of the same date from the Orders of the Kingdome of *Sweethland*, wherein, after a rememoration of all things that had past since the Coronation, they desired his Majesty to suppress his tumults sprung up in *Finland* and *Leisland*; to commit the Offices of the Kingdome to Natives not to Strangers; to bring the Authors of those troubles to punishment; To governe the Kingdome according to his Regall Oath, the Lawes of *Sweethland*, the *sudercopian* decrees, and other laudable transactions, and that (in all cases) the written Lawes might be observed; To secure them that neither for the present nor the future he would attempt any Mutation of Religion, as had been formerly done contrary to their opinion of his Majesty: That he would returne to them as beseeemed a meeke and gracious Prince, not attended by forraigne Forces: That his abroad amongst them would be an assured argument of his yeelding to these their just requests; And that the speedy effecting thereof was their most earnest desire: But that, if his Majesties condition were such as he could not be resident with them, and that frequent returns into the Kingdome would be more troublesome then the State thereof could beare, they humbly besought

*Letter to King  
Sigismundus  
from the Par-  
liament of  
Sweethland.*

*The Prince his  
Son invited to  
be there educa-  
ed, and to re-  
ceive the  
Crown.*

besought him that in regard his most deare Son was (according to the hereditary union, from which they were resolved not to vary) the next Heire to the Crown, he would be pleased to send the said Prince his Son to receive his Education within that Kingdome, in the true Christian Religion and other Princely vertues, under the tuition of his neereſt of blood, and other faithfull persons, whereby he might in time become capable of the government and so manage the same as might tend chiefly to the honour of God and the good and welfare of their most deare Countrey: Promising that if he would so do they would continue, even to the death, his Majesties most faithfull and obedient Subjects; And (as their dutie did in like manner oblige) to the young Prince, as to their hereditary King: And that as they hoped his Majesty would grant this their just and sincere Petition, so they with equall humility and observancie entreated that his Majesty would release and send back certain innocent persons, viz: *George Clandius, Olavus Hard, Andreas Sweno* and others, who, contrary to his Regall Oath, right, and Justice, had been imprisoned and conveyed out of the Countrey. But that, if his Majesty (contrary to their expectation) should refuse to grant these desires, which contained nothing but what was consentaneous to Christianity; to the Lawes, to Concord and the Regal Oath, they, with all the Orders of the Kingdom, would then protest before God & claer their innocency towards all Christian Monarchs and the whole world, that they were compelled to renounce their former obedience to his Majesty, as seeing evidently that their longer continuance under his Sovereignty tended to the rejecting of the Divine word; To the persecution of Subjects, the abolition of legally acquired privileges and prerogatives, and the bringing of them under the yoke and Servitude of strange Lords. Thus farr (omitting the Criminations at the beginning) out of the letter it selfe.

*No answer re-  
turned.*

*Parliament at  
Stocholme.*

Hereunto King *Sigismundus* returned no answer, but more then ever (say they) by open force and secret practices stirred up discord and dissention within the Kingdome; For w<sup>ch</sup> cause, with unanimous consent, a Parliament was appointed to be held at *Stocholme* the moneth of *July* next following, to consult upon these and other important affaires of State.

In that assembly, the Senators and Orders of the Kingdome of *Swethland*, the Earles, Barons, Bishops, Gentrie, Clergie, Burgeſſes, and Corporations there convened, declared that forasmuch as their Ancestors the Orders of *Swethland* had at *Aroſia An. 1544.* Framed certain constitutions for that Common Weales future government, which were afterwards confirmed by each particular condition of the inhabitants, (importing) that whereas in former times many disorders, mischeifes and inconveniences had sprung up in the Land,

Land, partly because stranger Princes had been preferred to the Crowne of *Suethland*, who exercised much violence and tyranny toward the *Suethes*; partly also because concord could seldome flourish among the Kingdomes native Colonies, whilst the choice and election of Kings rested in the *Swethish* Patriall Families, according to the customary Lawes of the Kingdom, and that the Royall Diadem did not discend to any certaine race; wherefore it had been thought necessary to pitch upon the linage of some certaine Family, whereon the Regall Dignity might be settled for ever, so long as it should please God that any one of the Male issue thereof should remaine, whereby the entrance into such dissensions (in *Suethland*) might be for ever closed; and that they had not found any more worthy of that Regall eminency, nor who had better deserved the Diadem, both for himself and his Successors, then their then present King *Gustavus* (*Erikson*) as who through Divine assistance, had with exceeding diligence, toyle, and care, and many hazards of his Person, freed their Countrey from the servitude, it groaned under, of forraine Kings, and had restored all the Orders of the Kingdome, from the highest to the lowest, to their ancient condition and liberty; and not that alone, but had likewise delivered the same from the unsupportable yoke of Romish Superstition, and in stead of that false worship, had restored the true Evangelicall Doctrine, conforme to the Divine Word, whereunto he had also commanded his Successors to adhere, as they would avoyd the eternall losse of their Soules: The present Parliament did confesse themselves obliged to observe the same, as they had hitherto done by the Crowning of *Erick* his eldest Son after his decease, and he, for most cruell tyranny and unworthy Government, being with his Successors worthily deprived of the Scepter, the same had been conferred upon Duke *John* the second Son of King *Gustavus* with his Male issue, and he deceasing, upon the present King *Sigismundus*, notwithstanding the just objections they had for his embracing the Romish Superstition (contrary to the Godly admonitions left by his Grand-father) as also for his accepting a forraine Crowne without the knowledge and consent of the Orders of *Suethland*, with conditions so prejudicall to his native Countrey as the same would never have admitted, and his departure therefrom without their privy.

But not to insist here upon all their criminations, consisting mostly of things formerly mentioned, that Parliament further declared that, for the sayd reasons, and for that King *Sigismundus* had not daigned to returne any answer to their desires signified unto him from *Jeneropia* the preceeding Winter, they had unanimously and with one consent concluded not to

Rejection of  
King Sigism.

G g

acknow-

His Son Ula-  
dislaus accep-  
ted of condi-  
tionally.

acknowledge him any longer for their King, or to be thence-  
forward obedient or subject to his government, but renoun-  
ced him, and resumed and dissolved their Oath of fidelity and  
obedience wherein they had been hitherto bound by Law  
and the Acts of Hereditary union. That albeit they had just  
cause to remove in like manner his Heirs Males from the  
Crown, yet would not they impute the faults of the Father to  
the Son, but had and did thereby decree to accept and receive  
Prince *Vladislaus* (his Majesties Son for their Lord and King,  
conditionally that within the space of one half year his Majesty  
would declare whether or not he would send his said Son into  
the Kingdome, and commit him to the tutory of Duke *Charles*,  
as his nearest in blood, with other honest faithfull Men; so  
the end he might be educated in the true Evangelicall Pro-  
fession, whereunto they, in that Kingdome, had bound them-  
selves, as also in the language and custome of the Countrey,  
and would accordingly transmit him thither within six  
months next ensuing the half year fore-specified: That this  
being thus done, they would admit of and receive the said  
Prince, before all others, for their lawfull Lord and King, when  
he should have attained those years wherein, according to  
Law, the ancient Jurisdiction and laudable custome of the  
Kingdome, he might secure and govern them and it; and that  
in the mean time they would acknowledge Duke *Charles* for  
their Hereditary Governour untill the Prince should attain  
to lawfull age.

But that if his Majesty should not do what before expressed  
within the prefixed times, they would then also reject him,  
so as neither he nor his Heirs should ever be admitted to sway  
the Scepter of *Suetland*, but as the Father, so the Son to be  
forever deprived thereof, themselves being the causers of their  
prescription from the Royall Throne, and their own dispo-  
sers of all Authority and Dignity in *Suetland*, whereof the said  
Orders were innocent before God and the World, as not ha-  
ving administred the least occasion therunto. That thereaf-  
ter they would choose such a King and Lord, as should main-  
tain and govern them according to the pure word of God and  
the *Suetish* Lawes.

Thus much out of the Act it selfe concluded the twenty  
fourth of *July*, 1599. whereunto the further curious are refer-  
red. I shall only adding as a preparatory to the next ensu-  
ing Parliament, that in this it was decreed that when his  
Highnesse the Duke should return from *Finland*, whether the  
troubles there did call him, they would again convene in  
place convenient for the triall of those Counsellours and o-  
thers then Prisoners, and on the guilty inflict deserved pun-  
ishment, and that the Duke and they had resolved for the  
cleering

cleering of themselves before all Christian Monarchs and the whole World, that they proceeded not otherwise in that Affaire then right and justice required) to entreat certain Electors and Princes of Germany to send some men of probity and integrity into *Suethland*, not as Judges of controversies but as Auditors onely: But if those Ambassadors did defer their coming that themselves would then proceed.

This Parliament ended, they (without delay) by Letters of the thirtieth of the said month advertised King *Sigismundus* of what had been therein concluded, and humbly desired his Majesty to declare himselfe within the time limited: But to these Letters (say they) he returned no answer; Whereupon another Parliament was indicted at *Lincopia* against the month of *March* in the year, 1600.

Parliamentary  
Letters to King  
*Sigismundus*  
not answered.

Parliament at  
*Lincopia*.

In this Convention the whole Orders of *Suethland* (as in the former they had done) did expressly and absolutely renounce King *Sigismundus* and his Government, as also his Son for himselfe and Posterity in case of his not being sent into *Suethland*, within the time specified in the former; They thereupon do likewise cleer his Highnesse from affecting the Sovereignty or its Title, notwithstanding the tender thereof unto him, and confirmed him for their Governour during the absence, as also the minority of the Prince, if he should come within the time, five months whereof were yet unexpired: And albeit (as they in the ninth Section or Pause of that Act, do acknowledge) Duke *John* the Brother of King *Sigismundus* was the next in right unto the Crowne according to the severall (times forementioned) hereditary Unions yet did they decline him, fearing least when he had attained the Regall Chaire, he might, moved thereunto by naturall affection to his Brother or his Heirs enter into such Covenants and make such transactions, as might be destructive to themselves and to the Country, by joyning with them to revenge, upon Duke *Charles* or his Successors, those things which in those turbulent times had been acted in reference to King *Sigismundus* and his Family, and so the latter evill might be worse then the former: And therefore they unanimously decreed that the said Prince *John* should have the Dukedome of *Ostrogothia* (formerly designed for his Uncle Duke *Magnus*) conferred upon him with certain reservations, and equall compensations for the same, therein expressed: The said Prince to rest therewith contented, without pretending to any other part in the Kingdome; Hereditary Goods expected, which by paternall or maternall Inheritance might be devolved unto him, yet with certaine restrictions therein contained.

Duke John declined.

Dukedome of  
*Ostrogothia*  
conferred on  
Duke John.

And as in the eight Section or Pause of the said Act they repeat the Motives of their defection from King *Sigismundus*, as his

King Sigism.  
with his Heirs  
rejected.

Duke Charles  
design'd King  
of Suetland.

Gustavus A-  
dolphus so suc-  
ceed.

After him Duke  
John condition-  
ally

his deserting the Evangelicall and embracing the Papall erroneous Profession: his endeavouring to obtrude the same upon that Kingdome, his departure from thence severall times without their privy, after he had brought a numerous forraign Army into the bowells of the Country, against all right, naturall affection, and the Lawes of that Nation, and had by severall other waies acted contrary to his Oath and asscutoriall Letters, as also had not daigned to answer one sylable to their humble desires and assurance of committing the Sovereign rule of *Suetland*, unto his Son if transmitted for due Education within the prefixed time: For which causes they likewise renounced his Son and all other his Heires and Successors, depriving them of all Jurisdiction, otherwise (by the Hereditary Union) rightly belonging unto them (so as neither his Majesty nor any of his Progeny should thereafter obtaine any right unto the *Suetish* Diadem) withdrawing themselves from all Obligations wherein they were tyed to his Majesty and his Heires, as also renouncing all fidelity, security, and assistance formerly exhibited to his Majesty. So in the twelfth Pause or Section of the same, they approve of and confirme Duke *Charles* for their future King, promising unto him thereby, unanimously and with one assent, obedience, fidelity, security, and their utmost assistance, as to their naturall and beloved Lord and King: yea, that albeit he should refuse to accept the Crown, and whether the Coronation Ceremonies should be performed or not, they would neverthelesse acknowledge and observe him as their lawfull Lord and King.

They likewise bound themselves (in that Act) that after the death of Duke *Charles* they would render and perform the like obedience unto his Son the Prince *Gustavus Adolphus*, and to his Heirs Males so long as any of them should survive: But they failing, the Royall Scepter to come to Duke *John* aforementioned; Provided that he and his Successors were obliged not to enter into any Union or confederacy with King *Sigismundus* or his Heirs, especially relating to any share or government in that Kingdome, and that he nor they should in no sort adhere unto the Romish erroneous Doctrine.

Concerning their establishment of Church-service, as also their Treaties to be had with the *Russian* and those of *Lubacke*, the curious are referred to the Act, wherein also provision was made for dispatch of Juridicall Suites: Scrutenies into the publike Revenues of the Crown: Setling of certain numbers of Horse and Foot in each Province to be ready upon emergent occasions; their constant Salaries and Sustainment, whilest remaining at home, to be out of the Crown Revenues onely; but when the whole Forces of each Province or any part thereof, should move in Military expedition against the Kingdomes Enemies,

Enemies, each Province to furnish their proper Souldiers with Provision or Maintenance during the expedition, that so each might be assessed for their own Militia, and not burthened with that of any other: And that forasmuch as each Province had not equall number of Souldiers, no more then equall frequency of subsidiary Inhabitants; it was ordained that the Assessments for the maintenance of the Army should be equall in each Province, wherby the Inhabitant of one Province might not be liable to a larger Military contribution then one of another Province, and if the Military number in one Province were greater then its proper contribution could maintain during the expedition, the defect was to be supplied out of the Crown Revenues of that Province, wherby the Souldier might out of the same Province be provided of necessaries during the expedition: This Decree to be perpetually observed, whether the Military bands should remain at home, or march (under the Ensignes) against the Enemy.

Care was likewise taken for the regulating of Decimations or Tithes in field provisions, whereof the Minister was to have a third for his peculiar use, and the residue to be carried into the Granary of the Church; the Minister to make Oath of what by him received, and upon prevarication found, either by the Minister, or by the Husbandman to the Minister, or to the Granary of the Church, the party offending to be cited into Judgment and fined. During this Session, the Captivated Senators, and such as upon their account had been sent for from *Finland*, were brought to tryal, concerning whom it was concluded, that forasmuch as those Counsellors, who in this present Parliament had appeared in Judgment, and were by Duke *Charles* personally, in presence of the Lords *Clement Gadderdorf*, and *Gerhard Stedding*, Ambassadors from the Prince *John Adolph Duke of Holstein*, accused and convicted that they were not only the first who causelessly deserted the Acts enacted and decreed by themselves as well as others, at *Sudercopia* and elsewhere, and like Malefactors fled out of the Kingdome, thereby deserving the punishment which the said Acts and other laudable transactions of the Kingdome enjoined to perjured persons, and violaters (such as these were) of their own Subscriptions, but also derogating from their Oath and all naturall (Patriall) affection, had perswaded King *Sigismundus*, themselves accompanying him, to bring an Alien Army to devast and destroy his Native Soile, and not as became a gracious King, to visite and defend his Subjects according to equity and the Lawes: Of all which Crimes they were convicted by their own Letters, besides many other wicked conspiracies by them formerly and of late

*Trial of Captivated Senators;*

malignantly practised against his Highnesse and their Country, for which they had been, by most equall Judges condemned in losse of life and Goods, as by the Sentence it self, the tenour wherof followeth, doth appear in these words.

*Sentence of execution.*

**B**Y the particular Letters and Writings of these Trayterous and unfaithfull men, *Gustavus Baner, Ericke Sparre, Stenro Baner, and Ihuo Bielke* of the Senatoriall Order, it is manifest that they have not adhered to their written Obligatory Engagements sent at severall times to his Highnesse, but have shamefully digressed from their own Acts under their hands and Seales, and from the laudable Decree ratified by them at *Sudercopia*. We therefore who by the universall Orders of the Kingdome are deputed for the pronouncing of this Sentence, cannot acquit nor free them from that punishment wherunto persons perjured, and transgressors of their own Acts, are subject according to the Lawes, in regard the Sentence following, inserted by themselves in the *Sudercopian* Decree, doth condemn them in these words.

*All persons who shall swarve from this our Univerfall Union, for favour of great Ones, peculiar profit, or other causes, under what name or notion soever, or shall lend assistance, that violence be used by any person openly or priqately, against this Decree, or those things whereof his Majesty hath secured the Kingdome of Suethland, whereupon this our Constitution is founded; We shall repute those men for such as are unfaithfull to his Majesty, to the Kingdome turbulent, treacherous persons, and to the Country traytors, whom We will endeavour by all meanes to suppress.*

Moreover they have most wickedly slandered his Highnesse unto his Majesty, wherby many Calumnies have been divulged in Print and otherwise; themselves having in their Letters spread very many things, much tending to blemish the Honour, good Name, and Princely repute of his Highnesse, which neither themselves nor any other can prove. Wherefore in as much as by their Writings they have so ignominiously depraved his Highnesse, the Uncle to the King, and Hereditary Prince and Governour of the Kingdome, to which Dignity he was by themselves elected, they are to undergo the punishment assigned them by the Lawes of *Suethen* in the ninth Chapter of the Title *De Regalibus*, which is, *Whosoever shall speak ought derogatory to the honour and fame of the Royall Majesty, or of one or more of his Counsellours, and cannot rationally and legally prove the same, let him lose his head.*

Furthermore, forasmuch as they have sowed hatred and discord between King *Sigismundus* and his Highnesse, instigating his Majesty to wage War against his Highnesse, contrary to the Lawes of the Land, and all regard of naturall affection, therby

therby bringing detolation and devaftation to the Country : Therefore we cannot judge otherwife but that they are obnoxious to the punifhment, which the eighth Chapter in the Title of the moft high Capitall Crimes, according to the Laws of *Suetben*, ordains to be inflicted on them in this form of words. *Whofoever fhall raife an Army againft the King or the Governour of the Kingdome, to furprize them at unawares, or to flay them, or fhall attempt any violence or unjuftice by Letters, Writings, Counfell, Endeavours, or Affiftance, if taken in the Fact, fhall undergo the loffe of life and goods.* Whereunto is added in the fame place, a Chapter of the Tenor enfuing. *If anyone fhall bring a forraigne Army into his Native Soile, and wage unlawfull War againft his lawfull Lord, by devafting the Country, unleffe in company of him who is legally promoted to the Governm<sup>nt</sup> of the Kingdome, he with all his partakers are to be deprived of life, and their Eftates to be for ever confiscated* But whereas they and others of the fame faction will happily imagine that the faid recited Chapter of the *Suetbifh* Law, may be a help and excufe unto them, becaufe it faith, unleffe they fhall accompany the King lawfully advanced to the Throne of the Kingdom: It is therefore to be confidered on the otherfide, that themfelves were the caufers of all the troubles and effufions of blood, (which to our grief) hath for fome time overflowed the Country, & it is to be feared that the fame wound of diffention may again fefter, unleffe by the divine goodnefs it be in mercy falved. For in the firft place, if his Majefty would attempt ought againft his Oath, his Covenants, and the Lawes, they were not bound to adhere unto him in that point, as the fifth Chapter in the Title *De Regalibus*, concerning the duty of Senators doth exprefs in thefe words: *We fhall yeild unto the King lawfull obedience, and fhall performe his commands in all things which he fhall enjoyn us rationally and legally, and fo as We may before God and man juftly maintain and answer for, as well our obedience, as the things which he commands :* Therefore according to their Oath of Office they were bound to perfwade the King to fuch things as they knew to be advantageous to his Majefty and the Natives, and ought to have exhorted him to preferve, not violate the Regall Rule, that fo he might not have tranfgreffed the Oath made to the univerfall orders of the Kingdom : and fhould have put in execution the things which they had promifed to the King and Kingdom: but they have gone not only clearly directly Contrary therunto, and to the *Sudercopian* Decree in like manner, but have alfo induced his Majefty to the breach of his Oath (as they had broken theirs) and to opprefle his Country by cruel War contrary to Law and Juftice, whereby they have caufed many thoufands of men to lofe their lives ; procured much hurt and detriment to the country, depriving the King of his Kingdom,

and

and people, and by their plots precipitated themselves into the present misfortune.

It is hereby manifest that the pre-alledged Chapter of the Lawes of *Suethen*, doth no way cover or defend their Crime; but that we by vigour of the same text have legally pronounced them to be deprived of their lives, their lands, their goods, and good names.

And we accordingly profess, that we all, jointly and severally, willingly and legally, by vertue of those obligatorial letters which the most illustrious Duke *Charles* and we have given to each other interchangably, without hatred, envy, feare, or respect of any person, nor offering further then deserved violence, have pronounced this Judgement and capitall Sentence, and that we will constantly adhere thereunto both for the present and the future, and will acknowledge and maintaine the same before God and the Christian World. For the more assurance hereof we have ratified and confirmed this present Judgement with our hands and Seales. At *Lincopia*, the seventeenth of *March*. 1600:

\* Others pardon-  
ed.

Some but re-  
ceived.

In this manner was the Sentence pronounced on those aforesaid; but as for *Claudius Bielke*, *Christierne* the Son of *Claudius*, *Erick* the Son of *Abraham*, & *George Possé* the Son of *Knute*, they having publicly acknowledged their offences, his Highnesse at the request of the Forrain Ambassadors and the Orders of the Kingdome had pardoned them, upon their humble suit for remission of the facts whereby they had offended, partly against those Orders, partly against the Countrey: yet so as to remaine prisoners untill his Highnesse had taken further deliberation, and the bettering of their condition to be at his Highnesse pleasure. *Hogenscheild Bielke* affirming hee could rationally refute the imputation of his siding with the other unfaithfull Counsellors by assistance and advice in perswading King *Sigismundus* to bring a forrain Army into his native Soyle, he was to clear himselfe at the next ensuing Parliament, or otherwise to be lyable to the crime objected. Concerning *Carolus Gustavus* and the Homicide charged upon him, but no absolute conclusion made of the time, he was ordered to acquit himselfe thereof in the next Parliament, in which also the particulars his Highnesse had against the foresayd Persons were to be examined.

Sentence in  
Finland a-  
gainst *Arvidus*  
*Gustavus* and  
*Axell Kurek*  
confirmed by  
Parliament.

In reference to *Finland*, the Parliament decreed that *Arvidus Gustavus* and *Axelius Kurek*, who for effusion of blood and other abominable and wicked actions, in that Province, perpetrated by them, had been there legally sentenced, which was here confirmed, should undergo the deserved punishment: That others of the Nobility and of the Military Order, not equally guilty, as having been seduced by those trayterous Counsellors,

Counsellours, their Leaders, should have their lives spared ; but that a third of their Immovables, whether by Inheritance or Donation from Kings of *Suethland*, should accrue unto the Crown for ever, with all their Fee-Farmes, whether for term of life or years. It was further decreed, that the Clergy, and all others in that Province, who by their Sons, their Kindred, or others of the Military Bands, had contributed or maintained Horses, or that had by Letters and Plots endeavoured against his Highnesse and the Kingdome in generall ; but chiefly for deserting the *Sudercopian* Constitutions they had formerly approved of, and opposing themselves to their laudable transactions, should be punished ; the Clergy to be forever deprived of their Parishes and Ministeriall dignities : Others who had furnished Horses or assistance to the Enemies, were to be fined in a third part of their Goods ; and such as were any way accountable to be called to a strict account ; the residue of the Clergy who had onely dissented, by not assisting the Orders and the Kingdome, in prosecution of the Regall Oath and Assurance, with other most ancient jurisdictions, should be fined in five Dollars for every ten Bootes (or Ploughmen) within their Parishes, and so to retain their functions and livings so long as they should behave themselves as became faithfull Subjects. These are partly the heads of the Parliamentary transactions at *Lincopia*, the nineteenth of *March* .1600. For more full satisfaction reference is had to the Acts.

Other offenders for smaller Offences gradually punished by losse of goods or Fines.

The same things were confirmed in the Comitall Convention at *Stocholme* *An.* 1602 with sundry others enacted more relating to that countrey in particular then to the matter we have in hand, and therefore here omitted : Therein the Duke was again desired to accept of the Crowne, which he nevertheless refused untill he had once more, by letters, founded the mind of his Nephew King of *Sigismundus*, whether he would yet send his Son, upon the conditions before expressed, to receive his education in *Suethen*, and the Crowne thereof when he should attaine unto full yeares. In this Parliament also the succession was confirmed (Duke *Charles* deceasing) upon his Son *Gustavus Adolphus* and his heires males ; and those not surviving, upon his second Son the Prince *Carolus Philippus* and his Male Issue, which likewise failing, the forenamed Prince *John* with his posterity masculine should succeed ; and did associate each with other for the opposing of any, whether Native or stranger, who should contradict these Statutes by endeavouring to obtrude any other upon the Regall Throne. This Parliamentary Act consisting of eighteen heads sealed with their respective hands, and Seales, was concluded at *Stocholme* the seventeenth of *July*, 1602.

Second Parliament at *Stocholme*.

Duke Charles  
again solicites  
King Sigism. to  
send his Son in-  
to Sueten.

**D**UKE Charles upon the twentieth of the said Month sent Letters to King *Sigismundus* commemorating those, severall times formerly sent, as well by the Orders of the Kingdome of *Suetland* as himselfe, for the transmission of his Son to be educated in the Evangelicall Christian profession and the customes there used, and so to be received and admitted for their Liege Lord and King, when he should attain to yeares fit to manage the affaires of *Sueten*, and to grant them due asscuration: Withall taxing him that hitherto he had not only not answered but slighted and contemned their faithfull admonition, but had calumniated him, and was intentive toward his ruine and that of the Kingdomes respective Orders, as appeared by his Majesties Letters divulged in *Suetland*, partly before, partly after the late cruell War, and particularly in those by him sent to *Revell* from *Vilna* of the sixteenth of *May*, stufte with contumelies unnaturall, as being published against an Uncle, who had alwayes studied his Majesties and his Fathers good, and had endeavoured to place the Crowne upon the head of his sayd Father, by the deprivation of *Erick* who ruled amisse, as also safe-guarded his Majesty then an Infant, in requitall whereof he was now by him aspersed with infamous titles; and further shewed that Copies of certaine Letters were dilated unto him, written by his Majesty to the King of *Denmark* from *Vilna* the five and twentieth of *February*; wherein he had endeavoured to spot his honour. and had unadvisedly given away the right which the Crowne of *Suetland* doth justly vindicate as the peculiar badge thereof, *Viz.* The three Crownes, for which a long and cruell War had been waged with the *Danes*, wherein many brave Men had perished; and whereas the *Danes* formerly had earnestly entreated from the *Suetes*, a protraction (as to them) for composing the difference, his Majesty contrarily had now desired the like from the *Danes*, conceding needlessly the right of the *Suetes* to the adverse party, contrary to his Oath and promise, which his Majesty and his unfaithfull Counsellours ought not to have done: That nevertheless he regarded not those exorbitancies, neither was willing to recompence evill with evill, but would attribute those excesses to his Majesties weaknesse, and the perversnesse of that Religion wherein he had been educated, and would returne good even to his Enemies, if his Majesty and his partakers would accept of his brotherly affection: That therefore, albeit the Orders of *Suetland*, in the last *Stocholmian* Parliament (as they had often before done) had now againe humbly desired him to assume the Sovereigne Government, and had wholly renounced his Majesty, as he well knew, he had not

not hitherto directly condescended unto them: But that his Majesty and all the World might know, he sought not his Majesties or his Successors prejudice, but should gladly see his Majesties Posterity perpetually sitting at the Helme of that Kingdome; He again earnestly and faithfully desired his Majesty to assent to his request, and send his Son speedily into *Suethland*; that otherwise, and unlesse that before the ensuing month of *August* expired, he received a satisfactory answer, his Majesty would not impute it to him for a Crime, that he had at length accepted of the tender which by the whole Orders of the Kingdome had been so frequently made unto him. Dated as aforesaid from *Stocholme*; neither do we find any future intercourse by Letters between King *Sigismundus* and his Uncle Duke *Charles*.

But (say the *Suethes*) in stead of answer to those Letters, new broiles were set on foot, by all the Forces could suddenly be raised in *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and *Liesland*, albeit the *Leiflanders* did more adhere to the *Suethes*, as not brooking the *Polish* Government: Libels were dispersed into all parts against Duke *Charles*, and he with the Orders of *Suethland* were publicly proclaimed Enemies: Sundry (but unsuccessfull) attempts made upon *Huitenstein* and *Revell*, *Caspar Tisenhusen* that Rebell, with his Troops of Horse admitted into *Viburg*, by *Axell Kurck* appointed Camp-Master by King *Sigismundus*, contrary to his Oath and Obligation, which prohibited the Command of Castles unto strangers: Hereupon Duke *Charles* was compelled unto a new expedition into *Leifland*, where before he attempted ought against his Adversaries, he made sundry overtures (for a Composition) to *Leo Sapia*, and others, to whom the King of *Poland* had committed the Command of *Leifland*, but was not only delayed with various Letters, and deluded with vaine hopes, but his Messengers likewise by them imprisoned contrary to the custome of Nations; so as all his endeavours for ending that cruell War proved but vaine, as appeared in the year 1602. when *Axell Kurck* and *Henricus Horne*, with others, upon request made by the *Polanders*, were sent with certain Instructions positive, to try whether any agreement could be made: but coming to *Leifland* they found no man to treat withall; King *Sigismundus* and the *Polanders* having no other intent then to continue the War, and to procure them what Enemies he could both in *Denmark* and *Russia*, which gave beginning to the so long continued broiles between the famous Kingdome of *Suethland*, that of *Poland* and *Lithuania*: Moreover the said Duke *Charles*, in the yeare 1608. (he being then King) sent his Ambassadors *Magnus Brake* Earle of *Visinsborg*, *Nicolaus Bielke*, Baron of *Salslad*, *Peter Kemicius* Bishop of *Scharen*, *Lawrence Pawlinus* Bishop of *Stregnen*,  
Ottone

No answer returned, but new broiles raised.

Further Objections.

*The same con-  
tinued.*

Ottone Helmer de Tuna, Castellan of Aboen, and Philip Skeding, Castellan of the Narne to treat with the *Polanders*, but as formerly, so then King *Sigismundus* refused to cease this bloody War by equall and laudable transactions.

Neither (as they alledge) is that to be slipt over in silence which *Jonas Hendrickson*; *Meldorpius Ditmarsus* writes in his Oration, intituled, *The meanes and way of reducing the Septentrionall Regions to the Romish Worship*; Whose words are, that, when the Collar of the Golden Fleece was presented to King *Sigismundus*, at the *Warsovian* Parliament, by the Count of *Ligny*, in the name of the King of *Spaine* his Master; King *Sigismundus* made Oath, that he would preserve sincere Friendship and Brother-hood with the Prince of that Order, and would propagate that Catholike Religion by endeavouring to his power the extirpation of Hereticks: What therefore might be expected by the Duke and themselves who had abjured the Roman Profession? Surely King *Sigismundus* swearing, at the reception of that Order, to propagate the Papall Creed, by extirpating the Hereticks, was injurious and perjured as to his Coronation Oath taken in *Suebtland*.

*Parliament at  
Norcopia.*

In the year 1604. Duke *Charles* and the Orders of *Suebtland* assembled again in Parliament at *Norcopia*, upon the sixth of February, wherein they ordained severall things tending to that Nations Emolument; As,

*Heads of what  
therein transacted.*

1. Concerning the revising, correcting, reprinting, republishing of the Lawes and Constitutions of the Kingdome of *Suebtland* in all Provinces thereto belonging, those to whom the same was committed to have allowance from the Crown for their subsistence, untill it were perfected.

2. The grievances of the Subject (with their redresse) from and by Missionary and Military Quarterings.

3. The valuation of their Coinc.

4. The Tolls or Customes.

5. Against imposition of Taxes by Deputies or Officials, without the chief Superiours Command.

6. The power of Provinciaall Law-makers, or of great Rulers.

7. The Measures, Weights, and Balances, measuring of Lands, lustration of Regall Goods.

8. Marriage of the Royall Progeny.

9. The placing of Crafts-men in every Territory, and Ware-houses in each City, wherinto all Cloath to be brought and viewed, before the same were vended.

10. Against the detention of Tenths, Contributions, and emergent Exactions, by such as hold any Copyhold profits from the Crown.

11. Concerning the payment of Subsidies or customary Tributes, and by whom.

12. The

12. The Provinciaall Statutes of the late King *Gustavus* (*Erickson*) to be reviewed, corrected according to the present occasions, by the Supervisors of the Lawes of *Suethland*, and together with them to be published and observed.

13. Against undue and fraudulent exportation of Iron; the punishment of Offenders.

14. Touching the Grants of immovable Goods unto any person, made by Kings or Princes.

15. That the Moyety of Territoriall Fines should accrue to the Provinciaall Judge; the other Moyety to be reserved in the Territoriall Chamber.

Lastly, That Emergencies requiring the absence for some time of the King or Kingdomes Governour, the stay not to be beyond the day of *Bartholomew-tide*: For the better satisfaction in all which particulars, the curious are referred to the Acts; as also the Proceedings made in order to *Hogenschild* and *Claudius Bielke*, with the other Prisoners and Fugitives, their Children and Posterity. In like manner their Ordinance for the leavy and maintenance of nine thousand Foot and Horse for three yeares against the *Polander*, the Military Salary to be monthly paid, besides the other Souldiers to be maintained by his Highnesse out of the Crown Revenues, are therein more fully to be seen; the present intention being only to mention the Parliamentary conclusions relating to the former differences, between the King his Nephew, and the Kingdome.

In Order hereunto they shew that Duke *Charles* for sundry considerations by him alleadged, was willing to decline the Sovereign Rule, and had made unto them these two ensuing Propositions: That either they would be reconciled to King *Sigismundus*, or otherwise accept of his Brother Prince *John* for their King: Whereunto they had answered that they utterly rejected the first, as being willing to run any hazard rather then to return under his obedience: And as for Duke *John*, albeit he was neereft in blood according to the Hereditary Union, yet forasmuch as he was of under age, and had likewise upon the sixth of that present month, in presence of sundry of the States of the Kingdome, renounced his right therunto, resolving to adhere to the *Lincopian* Constitutions, and had entreated Duke *Charles* to accept of the Scepter, and had likewise sealed this *Norcopian* Decree, religiously promising never to act in prejudice therof, under the penalty of losse of his successive right unto the Crown of *Suethland*, as also of his Dukedome and those Hereditary Goods which he possessed in *Suethland*: In like manner, that he would never make any Transactions with King *Sigismundus*, his Sons or Successors, but to resist them vigorously, protecting, prefer-

Duke John renounced his pretence to the Crown of Suethland.

K k

ving

Duke Charles  
contented to ac-  
cept of the  
Crown.

ving, and defending Duke *Charles*, his Confort, Children, and Successors, in the Jurisdiction at that present designed unto them: And therefore for those and other lawfull causes, some of which were mentioned in the *Lincopian* Decrees, they could not admit of Prince *John* unto the Kingdomes rule: for which cause they had most humbly and earnestly reiterated their desires to his Highnesse not to reject the Sovereignty; which his Highnesse at last, moved with their assiduell and unanimous Suit had assented unto: And that forasmuch as in consideration of the causes fore-specified in the renunciation, and others elsewhere mentioned, the Male Line of King *John* was wholly deprived of the *Suethish* Diadem, and the same designed and conferred upon Duke *Charles* and his lawfull Heirs; they had therefore now renewed their ancient Hereditary Union, and had framed and fitted the same unto the condition of the time present: They further decreed, that if any person at any time thereafter, should secretly or openly act contrary to the Union and constitution then made, by endeavouring to translate the Crown unto any other Family, so long as any of the Progeny of their designed King, or of Duke *John* should survive; or to render it (as formerly) Elective, by which State many mischiefs (as their Annals made mention) had sprung up: Or finally, excluding the *Gustavian* Race, should himself surprise the Regall Chaire, they would with joynt Forces endeavour that he or they should incur the punishment of Traytors to their Country, and their Goods to be confiscated: And if their Children were of years to be knowing and conscious of those Treasons, and did not discover them, they were to undergo like punishment: But upon discovery of their Parents Nefarious practises, they should undesputably enjoy their Parents Estate, the Parent punished as aforesaid. But if they had not attained the years of discretion, so as not to be guilty of those treacherous Devices, they should not (by their Fathers act or suffering losse of life and goods) be defamed, yet should enjoy only the goods of their Maternall, not their Paternall Inheritance: If the Mothers were in like manner conscious of the Conspiracy and Treason with their Husbands, the Inheritance of the Wife as well as of the Husband, should be confiscated and accrue to the Crown, without any regard had to the Children. This was the substance of the *Norcopian* Parliament, confirmed by the hands and Seales of Prince *John*, Duke of *Ostrogothia* and Hereditary Prince of *Suethland*, together with the severall Orders therof respectively, the twenty second of *March*, 1604. The same likewise Corroborated with the Seales of the Towns and Provinces, from whence any of them had been delegated:

The Reformed hereditary union forementioned was of the same date equally subscribed and Sealed by the Senators and Orders of *Suethland*, Earles, Barons, Prelates, Gentrie, Clergie, Commanders, Burgesses, and others, who were present at the *Norcopian* Convention, as well in the names of their respective Provinces as in their own; and imported that from the time of the *Arosian* Convention *An. 1544.* the Kingdome of *Suethland*, formerly Elective, had been, under *Gustavus Erickson* (of excellent memory) rendred hereditary to him; his heires Males and their line Masculine, so long as any one of them should survive, in consideration of the desolations, intestine Seditions, Sanguinolent profusions, multiferous destructive detriments sustained by that Kingdome, whilest Elective, without regard to a lawfull regall succession: One Person or Party preferring one Prince, the other Party another, to the Royall throne; from whence multiplicitious discords and pernicious dissensions had overflowed the inhabitants, to the almost ruine of the whole Kingdome.

*Hereditary  
union ventwed,  
reformed.*

That the motives inducing thereunto had been; his vindicating them from the immanity of *Christierne* the second of *Denmarke*: That before his migration hence he had composed a certain last Will and Testament, for the regulating of his children toward each other and toward their Subjects; Upon which Testament the Orders of the Kingdome had grounded their hereditary union, and as a marke, had made it their aime; not obscurely insinuating that unlesse the *Gustavian* succession made that their rule, they could not thereby pretend any advantage, nor any right unto the Crowne more then that Testament conveyed unto them: The close whereof contained that his Children and Successors should cherish and maintaine divine worship, and the precious word of God, without any superstition, or traditions of men, according as himselfe had endeavoured to promote and publish the same: Next, that they should embrace each other with continued mutuall affection, governing and protecting their Subjects rightly and justly, and according to their legally acquired priviledges.

That according to the hereditary Union (grounded as aforesaid) they had crowned *Ericke* the Eldest of that line; But in regard his rule was not corresponding to the Paternall Testament and Laws of *Suethland*, they had deprived him and his heires of the Crowne of *Suethland*, and substituted in his Stead the late King *John* (of laudable memory) as the neereest in Order to that Covenant of hereditary Union: That he albeit retarded by the impulsions of perverse persons, who suggested unto him the pernicious change of religion, which was mostly intended during his raigne, had been vigilant to-  
ward

ward those things that were consentaneous to Christianity and right, and intended a just Government so long as his thred of life remained: To which change of Religion, as also sundry other things, were to be imputed to the suggestions of evill Counsellors, as the primary causers of that want of brotherly confidence, which of right ought to have been between him and his Brother Duke *Charles*.

They also affirme, that contrary to his Fathers sayd Testament, and his owne Oath for true observation thereof, *Sigismundus* his Son ( afterwards King of Poland ) had been by him permitted to be educated in the Pontificall Religion, and that by the fore-specified impulsions and perswasions of perverse Counsellours, he had sent his sayd Son out of the Kingdome, to receive the Crowne of Poland; from whence, as from an overflowing stream, all those inundations of evils, which had covered their Country, proceeded.

Duke Charles pronounced King, and his eldest to succeed. The younger to enjoy his Fathers Dukedomes.

It would be over long here to repeat, their formerly so often reiterated Criminations against King *Sigismundus*, nor the fore-mentioned Resignation by Duke *John* of his Hereditary right to the Kingdome: They therfore proceed to pronounce Duke *Charles* ( by them formerly designed ) for their present absolute and lawfull Sovereigne, with whom and for whose safety, they would live and dye; and that after him they would receive his eldest Son, the Prince *Gustavus Adolphus* for their immediate and confirmed King: Upon the younger Prince, *Carolus Philippus*, they thereby settled the Paternall Dukedomes of *Sudermannia*, *Nericia*, and *Warmelandia*, *Vosborgia*, and the *Valensian* Territory, with the other Jurisdications then possessed by his Father: But that Duke *John* should enjoy the Dukedome formerly granted unto Duke *Magnus*, with other large emoluments conceded unto him by the present Parliament, as the Letters of Donation did testifie.

Male issue of the eldest failing the second to succeed.

That if their designed King, the present Prince *Gustavus Adolphus* should leave behind him any lawfull Regall or Ducall Heirs Males, the eldest should succeed; and he deceasing sonlesse, the one after the other from Line to Line, should sway the Scepter, and so his Highnesse Sons, that should be borne unto him, should be by them and their Successors designed and accepted for lawfull and Hereditary Kings of *Suetland*. But if the Prince *Gustavus Adolphus* should depart this life, not leaving any lawfull Heirs Males, the second Son Prince *Carolus Philippus* should obtaine the Crowne as their designed, elected, and confirmed King of *Suetland*; and after him, his lawfull Heirs Males, in like manner should succeed, as hath been exprest toward the Line of Prince *Gustavus*.

That also failing in him, Duke John to inherit the Crowne.

Lastly, That if Prince *Carolus Philippus* should change this mortall State without any lawfull Male Issue to rule the rains of

of the Kingdome, the Royall dignity should then devolve unto the illustrious Duke *John*, in the same manner word for word as it had been decreed and confirmed unto the forenamed Princes *Gustavus Adolphus* and *Carolus Philippus*. He also dying, his eldest lawfull Son should obtaine the Regall Wreath, and so each from Line to Line as had been designed and concluded unto the Heirs of the two Princes before named in the foregoing Articles: And that, forasmuch as Histories give ample testimony of tumults, dissensions, and multiferous detriments, which over-fruitfully flock into a Common-wealth, when the Line of a lawfull Family is not regarded; the Kingdome and the Government thereof being in jeopardy by a perillous election of Governours, this Inhabitant voting for one (*Candidate* or ) pretender, that man for another: And that on the other side it may be collected out of Histories, that much Concord and Tranquility hath ever flourished in a Common-wealth, when according to Divine providence, the States or Orders of a Kingdome have not swarved from the right and lawfull Line of a Regall Family. If therefore (which they besought God graciously to divert) the like inconvenient should befall the Kingdome of *Suethland*, that the whole Masculine *Gustavian* Progeny should be taken away, and none remaining of that Regall and Ducall Family but Female Heirs, they did bind themselves by promise, and voluntarily and by mature Counsell did thereby unanimously and concordially, universally and singularly, for themselves in generall and particular, and for all their Successors ingage and sweare, that they would accept that Princeesse and Regall Daughter (if such should be living) or of the Ducall Line, for Queen of *Suethland*, and that they would not obtrude any Husband upon her without her will and consent; and especially that they would not permit or procure her a Husband of any People enemy to the *Suethish* Nation, or that had any way sought after their ruine or hurt, nor yet any of a perverse Religion, or adhering to a Doctrine differing from their Christian profession. That withall, the Queen should be and thereby was prohibited from any manner of Matrimoniall contract with any person of such a Nation or Religion, under the penalty of deprivation of Rule and Dignity; but that she should rather wed some one of the *Suethish* Nation whom she could affect, and who might be usefull to the Kingdome, or some Prince of the Ducall Families in *Germany* descended from the illustrious *Gustavian* Progeny of *Suethland*, and of the same Religion with them, except such marriage were forbidden by propinquity of blood.

That the other Regall and Ducall Daughters of that Family then remaining should be provided of Dowries and other

L 1

neecessaries

*The Female Regall and Ducall issue adopted into the succession.*

*This haireference to the fore-cited Parliamentary conclusions at Stockholm the seventh of March 1590. but is here imperfect in the Original, as wanting the words Eldest unmarried, as is there expressed.*

Provision for  
younger, Regall,  
and Ducall  
daughters con-  
ditionall.

The daughters  
and sister of  
King Sigis-  
mund, rejected.

No Prince of a  
contrary reli-  
gion to inheris.

Such, or A-  
postates to be de-  
prived.

Hereditary  
Princes  
prohibited mar-  
riage with  
any wife of  
contrary religi-  
on.

All seducers of  
Princes to a  
contrary religi-  
on to be punish-  
ed as traitors.

necessaries befitting their condition and dignity, according to the *Gustavian* Testament, and the conclusions of the present Parliament: Yet with these conditions and cautions, that not any of the Regal or Ducal Daughters should contract Matrimonie with any person without the free consent and approbation of the Orders of the Kingdome: But not intending hereby that the daughters of the King *Sigismundus* (if any were) or his Sister, should be comprehended, they being rejected from ever obtaining any jurisdiction in *Snethland*. And forasmuch as all the tumult, warr, and dissention, which of late times had molested them, had their maine Originall from the difference of religion between his Majesty of *Poland* and the Orders of *Snethland*, he having contrary to his Grand-fathers last Wil and Testament deserted their Christian profession and embraced the *Papall* erroneous doctrine; they therefore unanimously constituted and decreed that they would never prefer any person unto the Royall Chaire who should not be of the same Religion with them: And that, if any of their Hereditary Princes should decline the pure word of God, comprehended in the Propheticall and Apostolicall Books, and depart from the *Augustane* Confession presented to the Emperour *Charles*, An. 1530. grounded upon the Word of God; as also from other former transactions and laudable Constitutions, partly framed in the time of King *Gustavus*, partly since, tending chiefly and above all things to the advancement of Christs Church and the propagation of Religion, and to the preservation of the best policy both in Spiritualls and Temporalls; or whosoever should not do and promote whatsoever he shall know may tend to the honour of God, or should not attend to those things which might concern the profit and emolument of the Countrey, he should be utterly deprived of that Hereditary Jurisdiction which by the Act of union was due unto him.

In like manner, under the penalty of like deprivation their Hereditary Princes were prohibited Marriage with any Wife of an erroneous Religion, contrary to that above specified, for avoyding those, dissentions might thereby grow between the Subjects and their Lords, as had befallen with King *Sigismundus*; neither should contract Matrimony without acquainting and thereupon advising with the Orders of the Kingdom whether such Marriage would be commodious for themselves and the Realme. All Inhabitants therein, at present or after times, who should seduce, advise, or perswade any of their Hereditary Princes to imbrace or be brought up in any false Religion, or in other then that above mentioned, should be accounted as Traytors to the Kingdome, and undergoe punishment accordingly, of what soever condition they were, high or low, Senators or others.

They

They likewise concluded and decreed that not any of their Hereditary Princes should be raised to the Royal Throne who did accept of another Kingdome; and that no Hereditary King had power to accept of any other Realms or Territories, unlesse he would constantly remaine in the native Soyle; they having by sad experience found by the transactions of former times and moderne tumults, what inconveniencies had been derived unto them by their Kings acceptance of Forraigne Crownes: That in order to what before expressed, they who were or had been present, did promise and sweare according to the tenour of this Hereditary Regall Inauguration and designation of the forenamed severall Princes and their respective Heirs from Line to Line, all fidelity, obedience, and assistance to their utmost power and the hazard and expence of their estates and lives, in confirmation whereof they engaged their Christian faith, honesty, conscience, lives, and possessions, as they desired God to be propitious unto them, and each for himselfe and his Successors after their manuell Subscription sealed the same, with their Capitall, Civickall, and Territoriall Seals; upon reciprocall engagement for their Government according to the pure Word of Cod, the Laws and justly acquired Priviledges of *Suethland*: *Norcopia* the two and twentieth of *March*, 1604.

*No hereditary Prince to accept of another Kingdome, unlesse; so live in the Patriall Soyle.*

By the fore-specified Parliamentary Decree and Hereditary Union (it may appear) they utterly renounced the Sovereignty of King *Sigismundus*, who had not once only but severall times first abandoned them; therby (say they) adhering nevertheless to the right Family according to the Tenor of the Lawes of *Suethland*, and the Acts of Hereditation, and concurring with those of *Poland*, who had written to their King, then absent (for whose return they had prefixed a peremptory day) that they could not long subsist without their King, by reason of many incident dangers not to be obviated but by the Regall presence, and that if he did not return unto them by the time prescribed, he should not think strange if they did subrogate another in his place, it being impossible for them to live without a King and head, to defend them by his Regall power and authority: Which reasons (say they) the *Suethes* had often suggested and tendred to King *Sigismundus*, notwithstanding that his severall returnes had not been unaccompanied with various inconveniencies apparent in the preceding discourse: That all those things being by them passed over, they had frequently written to advise and intreat him to return into his Hereditary Kingdome, it being no less incommodious for them to live without a King and certaine form of Rule, then for the *Polanders*; to which Letters he had not daigned any answer, and that they therefore had been de-

servedly

servedly moved to exclaime ( with those of *Poland* ) shall *Suethland* be longer without a King ? in no wise ; A King we must have, &c.

They further affirm, that as then, Princes, meet to be promoted to the Regall Chair were not wanting unto them, they having the election of two, without swarving from the Regall Family, to wit, Duke *Charles* ( by them now elected ) and Prince *John*, who albeit they did ingeniously acknowledge him for the neerer, as being the younger Son of King *John* ( of famous memory ) and unto whom in that regard they had not once but often presented the Crown, yea, even at the Solemnity of the Coronation of their present King, yet for so much as he was not then of so ripe years as to undertake so troublesome a Government of the Kingdome in such a season, and that at *Norcopia* before the renovation and confirmation of the fore-specified hereditary Union, he had upon the sixth of the same month of *March*, in presence ( as hath been already said ) of sundry Senators and other Members of that Parliament tendred his just excuses in form as followeth.

*Oration of  
Duke John in  
Resignation of  
his right.*

**M**OST High and Mighty Prince, Beloved Lord and Uncle; When I silently revolve in my mind the benefits conferred upon me by your Dilection, ever since that by ( reason of ) the decease of my Parents, I came unto your Court, I certainly find your affection to have been so great as I cannot sufficiently extoll, much lesse deserve or recompence the same. I will not, at present, speak of the Paternall care exhibited toward me by your Dilection in my Instruction and Education in all Christian and Ducall Vertues : But desire chiefly to be mindfull of the care exercised by your Dilection, least I should have fallen into the hands of Jesuites, and have been seduced unto their most pernicious Religion. Wherefore seeing I can never be sufficiently able to merit or requite that Fatherly care, diligence, and trouble; I will first and above all things, with all earnestnesse, crave of the most high God that he will please abundantly to returne the same upon your Dilection, your most loved Consort, and your Illustrious Children, both in this life and that which is to come : In the mean time, I will diligently  
endeavour

endeavour by all manner of obedience and humility, to the utmost of my power, to make (at least) some measure of requitall of that faithfulness which your Dilection frequently hath and daily doth declare unto me. But whereas your Dilection did some daies past, propound unto my deliberation certain Articles, and hath grationally required me to declare my resolution upon them, as the Orders of the Kingdome have since done in like manner; I have therefore thought good to answer your desires, humbly entreating your Dilection favourably to accept of, and interpret this my serious Resolve, wherunto I have decreed to adhere constantly.

The Universal Orders of the Kingdome, most mighty Prince, beloved Lord and Uncle, in divers Parliamentary Conventions, as also in this present Assembly, have Unanimously and Concordially acknowledged and received your Dilection for their Lord and Governour, unto whom henceforward, as to their natural and most beloved King, they have promised all obedience, due fidelity, security, and utmost assistance: In regard your Dilection, solely under God, hath been their Protector, who to the extream hazard of your life, trouble, and charge, have diligently endeavoured to free them from the Papall darknesse, and that external Yoake and Servitude which was impending over our heads; And that you have neither spared your Possessions nor life it selfe, in watching for the Wel-fare and Emolument of us all, as well in spiritual as in temporal Affairs: And that you have preserved and protected all and singular Clergy and Laiety, high and low, each according to his state and condition in the Christian Religion; And have governed them wholly according to the Lawes of Suetland and each ones rightly acquired Priviledges: The Orders therefore of this Kingdome have (I say) for these and other weighty considerations, as also by the Authority and Jurisdiction devolving unto

M m

them

them from their Ancestors, designed and made choice of your Dilection for our King: Which Election certainly I neither by my selfe nor others, openly or secretly, either now, or when I shall have attained the full age of twenty foure yeares, nor at any time afterward, will never endeavour to annihilate or overthrow, but will alwaies rest contented with those things which have been at once and by all the Orders of the Kingdome unanimously constituted and decreed, and do willingly consent that the Renovation of the Hereditary Union have that successe which your Dilection hath required from these Orders: In reference whereunto, if your Dilection shall change his mortall life (which God be pleased to prolong for many yeares) I will endeavour with all my might that no injury be done in any sort unto your most beloved Consort, or to your most Illustrious Children, and moreover to my power wil procure that the most Illustrious Prince *Gustavus Adolphus*, my most beloved Brother may enjoy the Crown of *Suethland*: And if he shall decease without legitimate Heires Males, I will in like manner endeavour that my most deare Brother the Prince *Charolus Philippus* be preferred to the vacant Government of the Kingdome, towards each of whom I will so demean my selfe as becometh a most loving Brother. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your Dilection to consent at length to the desires of the Orders of the Kingdome, and compassionating the sad condition of our Country, speedily accept of the Crown of *Suethland*, by meanes whereof your Dilection may easily free the *Suethish* Common-wealth from Tumults, Discords, and intestine Dissentions, which otherwise may encrease unlesse our Requests be seasonably granted: Your Dilection may likewise attend the Government more securely, and henceforward as heretofore procure the Kingdomes good. Your Dilection so doing, I shall hope that your Dilection, together

gether with the Orders of the Kingdome, will permit that I enjoy the Dukedome assigned unto me at *Lincolnia*, with those Hereditary Goods which may rightly accrue unto me when I shall attaine unto full yeares; In the mean time I neither will nor can prescribe to your Dilection how they are to be ordered: I only humbly entreat, that as heretofore, so for the future, your Dilection will so patronize and dispose of what is mine, as to your Dilection shall seeme good, and unto me commodious; herewith from the most inward of my heart I wish unto your Dilection the happy successe of your intentions, a long and prosperous life, with a most happy and peaceable Raigne: And in confirmation of all things aforesaid, I here in presence of the Orders of the Kingdome, do give you my hand.

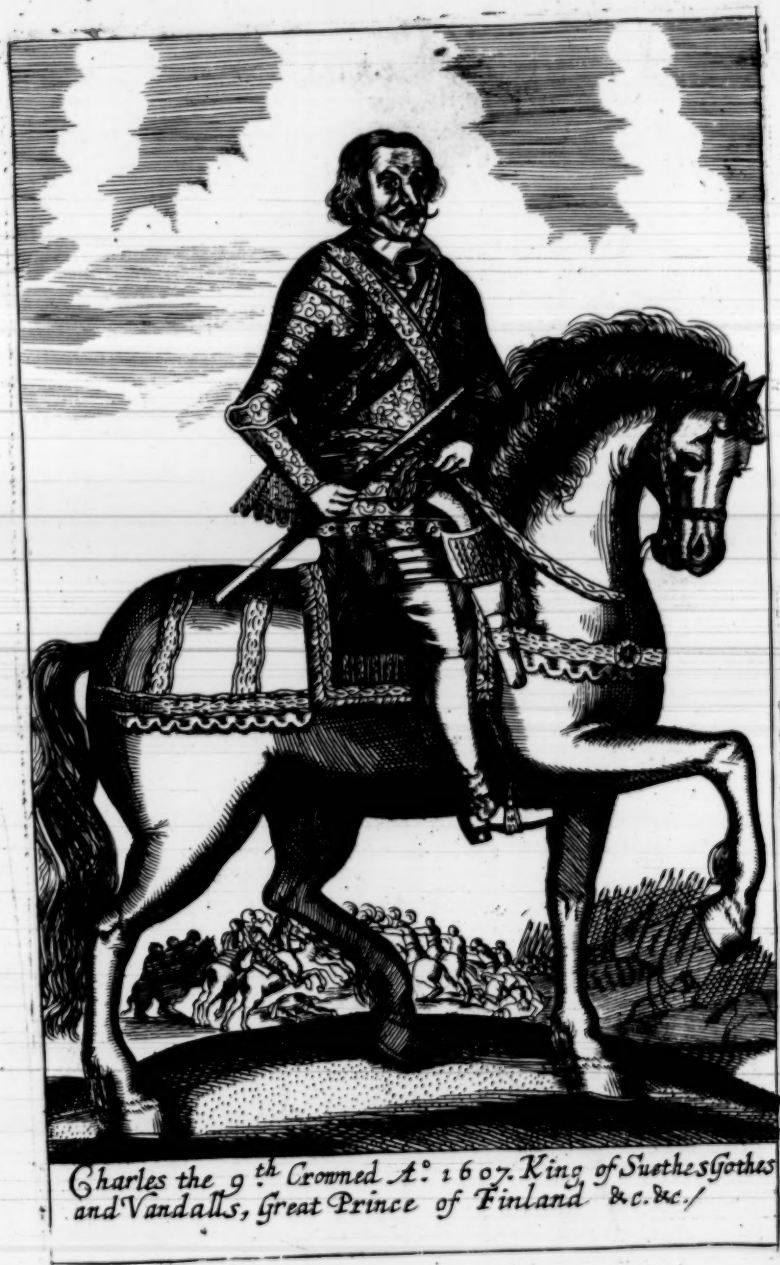
For these (say they) and other fore-mentioned reasons, as also in regard of the transaction at *Orobrogia*, *An.* 1606. between their new King and Duke *John*, that he would rest contented with the Dukedome of *Ostrogotia*, and not pretend unto or seek, either for himselfe or his Heires, any further Jurisdiction before those Revolutions should happen which were couched in the *Norcopian* renewed Hereditary Union; as also that he had now attained the age of nineteen yeares, and therefore could rightly discern of those things that concerned his good, they did hope that his Highnesse had no cause to impute any Injury unto them, the rather for that they had chiefly and seriously considered what the condition of those times in that Nation required; to wit, That the afflicted State thereof did speedily require a Governour, who could prudently steer the Kingdomes Helme, and that otherwise a total ruine would have over-flowed the Realme: That they were likewise compelled by those dangerous and subite Machinations whereby the Country was continually incompassed to choose him for their King, their Lord and Governor, who was adorned with Prudence, Experience, and ripeness of years. Thus

Duke Charles  
Crowned King  
of Suetthland.

Recapitulation  
made by the  
Sueths of their  
criminations a-  
gainst King Si-  
gismundus.

Thus Charles Duke of Sudermannia, Nericia, and Wermlandia, was An. 1607. Crowned King of the Sueths, Gothes, and Vandalls, being the ninth of that name; and King Sigismundus, with his Heires, for ever ejected and deprived of his said hereditary Kingdome, for the causes and reasons by them before alledged; which, to sum up all in breif (as themselves do) were first and chiefly, For swarving from their received Christian Religion, and from his Grand-fathers last Will and Testament, as also from his oath & promise, and likewise from the religious engagement made unto his late Father King John, that he would no way diminish the bounds of Suetthland; nor when seated in another Kingdome, consent or subscribe to any transactions concerning his Native countrey, without acquainting and consulting the States of Suetthland therewith: For departing the Kingdome not once but sundry times unwitting to the Orders thereof, and exporting severall acts of great concernment out of the Suetthish Cancellarie: For attempting likewise and doing many things much prejudiciall to his Native countrey: For prosecuting by open hostility his Uncle and such as would not embrace the Pontificiall Superstition: For alienating, in a manner, the Castle of Kexholme before any treaty for a perpetuall peace was instituted with the Russian: For causing civill dissention and effusion of blood within his Native Soile, and inflaming one Province against another: For contemning and endeavouring to undermine those laudable transactions which were established in his absence, tending to his and the Countreys good and to the propagation of Religion: For unworthily swarving from the Lincopian treaty, and a third clandestine Flight out of the Kingdome: For placing forraigne Forces in the Fort of Calmar, which could not be recovered without much expence of blood and treasure: For bereaving Suetthland of so many Shippes as he should get into his power, and employing them against his Native countrey, by attempting to gain from that Crown the Castle of Elseburg, and infesting and spoiling the Coast by his Naval forces: For granting to the Danes, contrary to his promise & the agreement made at Stetin, a Dilation concerning the three Crowns, the lawfull and peculiar badge and cognizance of Suetthland: For so sleighting his compatriots as not to returne a word of answer to their most officious Letters; nor at their humble reiterated request, to send his Son into that Kingdome to receive education, according to the Acts of Hereditary Union and Succession; for his owne and the Countreys good, and in due time to have been designed King; and that notwithstanding these tenders to him and to his Son, he had by all possible means endeavoured the de-

triment



Charles the 9<sup>th</sup> Crowned A.º 1607. King of Suethes, Gothes  
and Vandalls, Great Prince of Finland &c. &c./

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triment of the Kingdome, and violently persecuted his Uncle and all those who refused to subscribe to the Papall profession: Moreover, for raising up what enemies he could against his native Countrey, thereby to involve his Subjects in a deluge of blood, which he intended; and had almost effected (by the helpe of that Renegado Monke, tyrant and deflowerer of Virgins *Grifcha Otrepia*) for the Subduing of *Suethland* to his will, to which end he assisted him in the gaining the *Russian* Empire, and perswaded him to violate the League between the *Suethes* and *Russians*: and to the same purpose (that Tyrant being taken away) he substituted another in his place, by whose meanes he likewise hoped to bring that Kingdome under his yoake: And likewise by other Monarchs had endeavoured the destruction of his Country.

Otherwise Demetrius affirming himselfe Son to John Basilides late great Duke of Muscovia,

Lastly, Albeit formerly touched in their History, they cannot (say they) but here also rememorate his most inhumane designe of murdering his Uncle at the time of his Coronation, in which, by instigation of the Papall Legate and other depraved Counsellours, he decreed violently to deprive his Uncle of life, on the first day of the Solemnity, by the ministry of certain treacherous Villains, as was evident out of the History of *James Tipotius*, and by the confession of *Jerónimo Strozzi*, and that to the same end, he caused *Christopher Clabon*, one of his Musicians, to compose a Song, ending with, and repeating *Non curo, non curo, &c.* During the singing whereof, the watch-word being privily given, the Murderers should have rushed forth and most wickedly murder his Highnesse and his Train, but that God by his singular providence, prevented the mischief intended.

For these causes and reasons, do the *Suethes* (submitting the same to the judgement of all sincere and candid Arbitrators) justifie their abdication for ever of King *Sigismundus* and his Heirs from the Crown of the *Suethes*, *Gothes*, and *Vandals*, and their election to the same of the often forenamed *Charles* Duke of *Sudermannia*, *Nericia*, and *Wermelandia*, whom, as aforesaid, they Crowned in the year 1607. by the name of *Charles* the ninth: For conclusion to the whole (wherewith we also conclude this Epitomized Narrative) they earnestly entreat all Christian Monarchs, Emperours, Kings, Princes, and Electors, to make a candid and sincere construction, a benigne and favourall acceptation of this their legitimate defence, and to vindicate them and their most equall cause against all calumny:

During the Raig of this King *Charles* (which continued sundry years) there were almost continued Wars between the *Polanders* (who with the *Lithuanians* imbraced the quarrel of their Prince) and the *Suethes*, who resolutely maintained

Wars between King Sigismundus and King Charles.

Continued by  
his Son Gusta-  
vus Adolphus.

their owne Acts in favour of their new election: Neither were they intermitted by his death, for his Son *Gustavus Adolphus*, Succeeding to the Crown of *Swethland* An. 1617. did so vigorously prosecute, the same, as, the *Polanders* lost not onely the greater part of their interest in *Leislund*, but likewise the best (as well *Maritime* as inland) Townes, with most of the territorie of that part of *Russia* belonging to the Crown of *Poland*, *Dantzic* excepted with it's neighbouring bounds, which kept firme therunto, and would not admit of a Newtrality with the *Swethes*, albeit they had been once (if report err not) upon a Treatie: For which their fidelity, they have since obtained no small priviledges from that Crown, prejudiciall not onely to the Neighbour Cities, as that of *Elbing*, where formerly the English Merchants of the *Eistland* Company had a flourishing residence, but also to those Merchants and their Nation in the point of trade, by their Stample, upon all wollen cloaths imported to be dispersed through *Poland*, which Monopoly hath been and is no small greivance unto that Society: Neither hath that yoke been taken off notwithstanding *Englands* merits towards that Crown, and the intervention and earnest Solicitation of *Englands* Ambassadors and other Ministers, as will hereafter further appear. But returne we now to what is yet remaining, that so we may proceed unto the promised Treatie.

The *Polanders* (as hath been said) being wholly on the losing hand, and having other ancient constant enemies, as the *Turk* and *Tartar* (and the *Russian* no assured friend) to cope withall besides the *Swethes*; a Peace, or (if that could not be) a truce was mediated: Neither was King *Gustavus* reluctant thereunto, as having then a designe upon the main body of the Roman Empire, as well to revenge the Injuries he pretended to have received from the *Austrian* Family for aiding the *Polander* against him, as to assist and succour the all-moſt totally oppressed Protestant Princes of *Germany* (sundry of whom were his Allaies and) who had secretly re. claimed his power for their Protection.

A Truce be-  
tween them  
concluded.

Thus, both parties, howbeit upon different grounds, being unwilling to continue the Warr, Mediators were invited of each side: The late King of great *Brittaine* sent for his Ambassador to that treatie, Sir *Thomas Roe* Knight; a Gentleman every way qualified for that honourable employment, as having successfully undergone the like, for severall yeares not onely at the great Sultans Port, but likewise with the great Mogull and other Eastern Monarchs, neither did that Negotiation, so replenished with knotty difficulties, require a Personage of meaner endowments: but his more perfect Character



The Most Illustrious Puiſant, and Victorious Prince,  
GVSTAVVS ADOLPHVS. by the grace of GOD,  
King of the Swethens. Goths, and Vandals, great Prince  
of Finland. Duke of Eſthonia, & Carelia, Lord of Ingria &c.

ſould by P. Stent

Tho. Cecil ſculpt.

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ster is referred unto the able Pen of them that having attended him in those employments, have had the greater opportunity to discern his worth, which was deservedly known to all men.

The King of *France* deputed the Baron of *Charnace*; The Elector of *Brandenburg* also had his Ambassadors there, and by the Mediation of those publike Ministers, interposing the Authority of their Potent Principalls, a Truce was upon the sixteenth of *September*, 1629. concluded between those jarring Crownes upon the termes that the Curious may see in the Articles themselves, long since exposed to publike view, and not necessary to be here inserted.

Before the expiration of this Truce, King *Sigismundus* paying the Debt that all men owe to Nature, left the *Polanders* free to a new Election; and three Sons, the Princes *Vladislaus* and *Casimir* (the name of the third Brother I remember not) to the hopes thereof; Also one Daughter: Which three, besides their mutuall relations of Brothers and Sister by the same Father, might also be said to have been Cousin Germanes to each other by their respective Mothers, who both were Sisters to the then Germane Emperour; King *Sigismundus* after the decease of the elder (whom he had first married) espousing also the younger by Papall dispensation.

The more Superstitious and Jesuited Faction, which there is very powerfull (in prejudice of the accustomed way of Elective Succession to that Crown) would have baulked *Vladislaus* the elder, howbeit not for want of merit, but (as by them) conceived to be more favourable towards Protestantsime then they desired; and would have chosen *Casimir* the younger (at present their King by his Brothers decease) whom they thought, as having amongst them received his Education, would prove more inclining toward them, but were vigorously opposed by the Illustrious Prince *Christopher Radzivil*, Duke of *Bierze* and *Dubinskje*, Palatine of *Vilnen*, and great Generall of *Lithuania* (who is said to have brought five thousand Horse to that Parliament, a prevailing Argument) by whose meanes the elder Prince obtained his Elective Right, and was Crowned by the name of *Vladislaus* the fourth.

He was a Prince of great Courage and Vigour both of mind and body, and inherited not only his Fathers pretensions unto his Hereditary Crown of *Sweethland*, but the same desires for its recovery, and hatred against the Detainer thereof: Nor is it likely but that (upon the terminating of the truce currant) he would willingly have entered into a War for the regaining of the Right devolved unto him from his Paternall Ancestors, had not the States of *Poland* shewed themselves more willing to a Treatie, as having been but late before engaged against the *Russian*, from whom he had gained the Citie and Dukedom

Death of Sigismundus.

Vladislaus his Eldest, Elected and Crowned

of


of *Smolensko*, with other Territories, as also against the *Turke* and *Tartar*, whom (by the losse of two set Battels) he had forced unto tearmes of accommodation, by means wherof the *Crowne of Poland* had sustained a vast Charge, with other Inconveniencies incident, and might therefore require a time of breathing; Yet notwithstanding they also raised a powerfull Army to countenance the Cause; and not without resolution for a vigorous Engagement, in case the means used for obtaining a Peace, or longer Truce, should have proved uneffe-ctuall.

It is certainly much to be lamented, that the Spirit of Discord hath so much power over the minds of Christian Princes, as that their Emulations and Dissentions (which are the steps whereby the *Othoman* Empire hath mounted unto its present formidable height) should be rendred perpetuall, to the prejudice of *Christendome*, the reproach of the Christian Profession and the advantage of insulting Infidells, as then it did; for the Polish Army at that time had the Turkish Forces at such a bay, as that the great Generall of *Poland*, *Königspolskie* (in the hearing of this Relator) afterwards told the Ambassadour of Great *Brittaine*, that, but for the difference like to ensue between the two Crownes of *Poland* and *Suetland*, by reason of the then neer expiring Truce, hee would have convoyed those Miscreants unto the Gates of *Constantinople*: but leaving this digression.

A second treaty  
instituted.

As the Crown of *Poland* might be not unwilling (for the reasons pre-alledged) to admit of Peace, so likewise may the *Suetes* be conceived not to have been averse thereunto (as having lost their *Cæsar* in that famous Feild of *Lutzen*, and) being still engaged in the Germane War, their Forces were (then in decadence) constrained to retire toward *Pomerania*, and to keep a long the Sea Coast: So as both parties being apparently willing, a second Treaty was consented unto, and those Princes who had assisted at the former, as also the States of *Holland*, were by the interessed Crownes invited to resume the Mediatoriall Office, whereunto none of them being backward, no more then to contribute their endeavours for a Worke so pious and befeeming Christians; Sir *George Douglass* Knight, Ambassadour from the late King of Great *Brittaine*: *Claudio de Mesme*, Baron D' *Avaux*, from the King of *France*; the Prince *Sigismundus* of *Brandenburg*, Uncle to that Elector (from his said Nephew) with others of the Electorall Counsell, as also Ambassadours from the States Generall of the united Provinces, did accordingly (howbeit at severall times, as opportunity by reason of distance of places would permit) meet in *Prussia* the Province designed for

for the Treaty, with the Commissioners from the fore-mentioned Crownes, where each unfolded his utmost abilities for the compofure of all differences by most powerfull and rationall arguments; and as formerly, interposed the Authority of their refpective Princes and Principalls, to bring the gauled minds of the parties, whom a long continued Enmity had rendred in a manner implacable, to a condefcention for a finall peace, or at least a Truce for fo long a term as might indeed give fome confiderable eafe to thofe Countries already fo much exhausted by former Wars, which is the Treaty formerly promifed, then which none, at leaft in thofe parts, did ever produce difficulties more numerous, knotty, or frequently tending to abfolute rupture: The Succinct and true relation whereof is next to be proceeded unto.



O •

The

The future is a great and glorious thing, and it is one that we all desire to see. It is a time when we shall be able to do all that we wish to do, and when we shall be able to live in peace and harmony with all the world. It is a time when we shall be able to do all that we wish to do, and when we shall be able to live in peace and harmony with all the world. It is a time when we shall be able to do all that we wish to do, and when we shall be able to live in peace and harmony with all the world.

The

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The Portraiture of the most renowned Vladislavus Sigismundus  
King of Poland Great Duke of Lithuania &c. &c.

Engraved by P. Stent

R. E. scul.

THE  
T R E A T Y  
O F  
P A C I F I C A T I O N

(Upon the fore-related TROUBLES)

Concluded in the yeare, 1635.

BETWEEN

The Most Illustrious and Puissant PRINCES,

ULADISLAUS the fourth,

KING OF

P O L A N D,

Great Duke of LITHUANIA, &c. &c.

A N D

CHRISTINA AUGUSTA

QUEEN OF

SUETHES, GOTHES, and VANDALS,

Great Princeesse of

F I N L A N D, &c. &c.

---

*Faithfully related by J. F. an Eye-Witnesse of the  
daily Passages.*

---

L O N D O N,

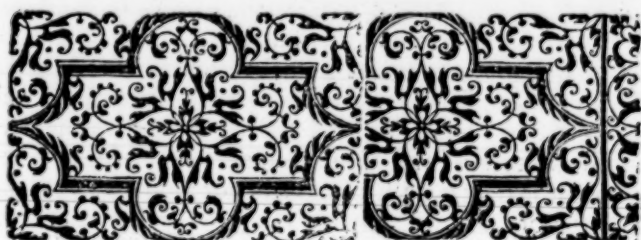
Printed for Hen: Twyford, and Tho: Dring, 1656.



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Christina Queene of Swethland  
 Goths & Vandalls :  
*Sould by P. Stent R. Caumood fecit.*



A BRIEF  
 RELATION  
 Of the Passages at the Treaty  
 OF  
 PACIFICATION  
 Between the CROWNES of  
 POLAND  
 AND  
 SUETHEN,

Concluded at *Stumbsdorff* in *Pruissia*, in the  
 Month of September, 1635.

*The Suevo-Polonian Treaty of Pacification.*



HAVING already shewed the Alliance  
 and ensuing Controversie between the  
 jarring Crownes and Kingdomes of *Pol-  
 land* and *Suebland*, and hinted at the  
 mischiefs following, the same (as also at  
 the sixe yeares Truce concluded *An.*  
 1629 and expiring in *July* 1635) for the  
 preventing whereof a second Treaty for a  
 finall Peace, or longer Truce was set on foot, the particular pas-  
 sages thereof (as formerly promised) we now enter upon.

P p

The

*Preface to the  
 treaty.*

*The Mediators.*

The mediating Princes and States were, the late King of Great *Brittaine*, the King of *France*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, with the States Generall of the united Provinces, by their respective Ambassadors. But here, before we enter upon the main difference, it will not be amiss to mention those things which (to Some) may seem of lesser moment, as the Procuratoriall Letters of the Commissioners from the interess'd Crownes, the reciprocall Instruments of security, Acts usuall in Treaties of that nature, which neverthelesse took not up lesse of time, but caused even more trouble to the Mediators, then the businesse it self, in reconciling the differences about Titles, mutuall suscriptions of advantage, or prejudice between the interess'd parties; afterwards the main businesse in order, according to the severall meetings and conferences, shall be faithfully and briefly related.

*Englands  
Ambassador ar-  
rives at Dant-  
zig.*

The first of the (more remote) Mediating Ministers (the Electorals being but neer Neighbours comparatively) who arrived at *Dantzic*, was Sir *George Douglas* Knight, Ambassador from the late King of *England*, his repaire thither, after a long and tedious Winter Journey from *Franckfort* on the Main, accompanied w<sup>th</sup> all the inconveniencies of waies & weather incident to that Season, besides the almost daily passing through one or other part of those opposite Armies, which then miserably infested *Germany*, was about the ninth of *January*, 1634.

*writes to the  
Commissioners  
of the Crownes  
interess'd.*

His Lordship understanding that the Commissioners for the Crown of *Poland*, had their residence at a little Town called *Moring* (in *Prussia*) forthwith dispatched Letters to the Lord Chancellour *Zadzicke* (chief in the Commission) to certifie his arrivall (as he also did to the Commissioners for *Suethen* at *Elbing*) and to crave their opinion whether it would be more necessary first to go and salute the King of *Poland* (then) at *Warsaw*, or to hasten towards the place nominated for the Treaty, being a Town in that Province named *Holland*:

*Answer of the  
Polanders.*

The Chancellours answer was congratulatory, as well in regard of his wished safe arrivall, as in consideration that his Master the King of Great *Brittaine*, out of his sincere affection to their King and State, had delegated him to this Treaty, (which he wished might prove auspicious) for the diversion of the Tempest then likely to fall between them and the Crown of *Suethland*. He likewise wished that his Lordship had arrived during the King of *Polands* late being at *Dantzic*, where he might, without further trouble to his person, have acquitted himself of what his Master had committed unto him, and accordingly have received a Princely answer; but that, forasmuch as the trouble and distance of the waies had hindred his sooner coming into those parts, he believed there was no necessity

cessity of undergoing the like molestation by a new journey to his Majesty; to whom it would be most gratefull if his Lordship should first repaire to the place appointed for the Treaty, there (by his Masters authority and his own endeavours) to effect those things that might be conducing to the matter in hand, and to their Princes dignity.

Lastly, He wished that his Lordship having refreshed himself some time, might come in safety to the place of meeting; concluding with offers of Service and Curtesies in such cases accustomed. By way of Postscript, he added, that at the instant of signing those Letters, he was certified by their Subdelegates, that the adverse party had altered some things formerly agreed upon, complaining that almost daily, from the 12th. of that present month, whereon they began to handle the Preparatories, the other side had done nothing but protracted time by propounding new conditions, which course if they should longer persist in, themselves should be constrained (having first solemnly protested before the Mediators) to depart thence, and commit their King and Countries cause to the Divine Justice.

*The Suetes complained of.*

I have given this Letter at length to shew in what state the businesse was, and how far advanced, when his Lordship arrived in those parts, but shall not (in the course of this relation) insist so particularly on each of the severall Letters that passed between his Lordship and the respective parties: My intention being to use as much brevity as the necessary circumstances of the Treatie will permit. And here, by the way, is to be noted, that the answer from the Commissioners of Suetbland to his Lordships Letters, was not lesse courteous nor lesse stuffed with complaints then the other:

*The Suetes answered with reciprocal complaints.*

The treatie had already taken commencement from the *Al-ternal Security*, as the *Basis* and ground work of the maine affaire, to which end the Commissioners of Poland and Suetthen had sent their Subdelegates; those, *Christopher Lode* and *Daniell Nawarowsky* Secretaries; these, *John Necodemie* of *Ahausen* Commissarie for *Prussia*, to *Holland*, a small Town nominated to be the Mansion of the Mediators, and the place of meeting for the parties, to settle and draw up a particular instrument of the security aforesaid: between whom, after much debate and many mutations (on the twelfth of January, 1635.) there being then present the Ambassadors of the Elector of *Brandenburg* onely, viz. *Andreas a Kreytzen* Governour of the Province; *Joannes Georgius a Saucken*, Chancellour; *Bernhardus a Konigseck* Counsellour of the Province and Captain of *Angerburg*; *Georgius a Rauschke* Counsellour of the juridicall Court, and *Petrus Bergmannus* (one of the Electorall Councell) it was concluded that the Lords Commissioners on each side, attended

*The Treaties commencement.*

*Elector of Brandenburgs Ambassadors.*

attended with a hundreth horse or dragoones, and so many foot, without Collours or military ensignes, their traine in like manner not exceeding the number of one hundreth should repaire thither, and be brought by the Mediators into the Church of the said Towne, by the doors neerest to their respective lodgings: and placed at a triangular Table without the least of precedencie or advantage to either partie, and the former instrument of security for the six yeares truce (ending the of  $\frac{1}{17}$  July ensuing) retaining its full force, they should conferre together about the Principall affaires. This agreement was signed by the said Subdelegates and the Electorall Ambassadors.

Commissioners  
of Poland.

By vertue of this instrument, upon the day appointed, the Lords Commissioners of Poland, who were (to give them their used titles) the most Reverend *Jacobus Zadzick* Bishop of *Culmen* and *Pomesania*, Elect of *Cracovia*, Lords High Chancellor of the Kingdome of Poland; the most Illustrious *Christopher Radziwill* Duke of *Bierzie* and *Dubinskie*, Palatine of *Vilnen*, Lord Generall of all the Forces of the great Duchie of *Lithuania*, Governour of *Bistrycen* and *Qiznorsen*; *Raphael de Lesno Leszozynskie* Palatine of *Belzes*, *Rubiesoviensis*; *Magnus Ernest Danhoff* Castellain of *Pernaw* and *Derpaten*, Capitaine of *Herbipolen*; *Rmigius de Ostole Zaleskie*, Refendary of the Kingdome: as also the Lords Commissioners for the Kingdome of *Suetland*, *Viz.* the most Illustrious *Peter Brake* Earle of *Wisfingeborg*, Free Baron in *Redboholm* and *Lindholm*, Provinciall Judge of *Wesmannia*, *Montenia*, and *Da'ria*: *Herman Wrangle* Knight, Hereditary in *Ablo* and *Skoglofter*, Marshall of the Feild and Governour Generall in *Prussia*: *Achatius Axell*, Hereditary in *Guxsolme* and *Kinkesta*; *Adfessor Supremi dicasterij*, and Provinciall Judge of *Nericia* (Senators of the Kingdome of *Suetland*) and *John Nicodemus* Secretarie and Commissarie Ordinary in *Prussia*: These from *Elbing*; Those from *Morung*, set forth towards *Holland*, being of equall distance, where they entred with their Train in such equipage as might set forth their greatnesse.

Meet at Hol-  
land town in  
Prussia.

They were brought soon after, conforme to the forementioned instrument, into the Church of that towne, by the forenamed Electorall Ambassadors, (as then onely present) and being placed in their Seates, the forenamed Chancellor of *Brandenburg*, *George Sanske* (in a long Oration) set forth the fervent desires of his Prince for the setting of a perpetuall peace, congratulating also the happie arrivall of the Commissioners into that Province, designed for this so important and weighty businesse, and concluded with Precations for the prosperous Successe and issue of this so much desired Treatie. Whereunto, of the one side the Chancellor of  
Poland;

*Poland* ; and of the other, Earle *Brake* replied, equally conjoying and conjoyning wishes with wishes.

These Civill Courtships thus performed, the Electorall Ambassadors, to lose no time, and to shew their authority and sincerity, Exhibited their Credentials to the Commissioners of both sides : preallubly desiring the like sight of theirs, which the *Poles* would have declined, as not necessary, alleadging it was not to be imagined that Persons of their quality would present themselves in so publicke a cause without sufficient power and authority from their Principalls.

The *Sueths*, on the contrary, insisted mainly that the Procuratorials might be produced, to which end they shewed theirs, affirming that untill the clearing of those, they could proceed no further, which being at last agreed unto, the Parties interchangably delivered up their Commissions to each other ; but, the dayes being then short, they could not, in that inch of time take so particular view of them as they desired, wherefore they consented that each Party, taking with them the others Plenipotentiary, should within two or three dayes returne the same back, and a second meeting was appointed the 26 th. following.

But forasmuch as many and great difficulties began to appear, even at this first entrance into the Treaty: The Ambassadors of Great Brittain ( who during the space of ten dayes he had stayed to refresh himselfe in *Dantzic*, had delivered the King his Matters Letters, and his verball injunctions to the Senate of that City ) was desirous to be present for the more easie composure of differences at their very beginning: He, with Mr. *Francis Gordon* ( the Kings Agent there ) came to *Holland* the one and twentieth of *January*, where having received and returned visits to the Electorall Ambassadors, and learned of them in what termes the matter stood, he expected the time appointed for the meeting, which, together with the Commissioned Parties, being come, and the usuall ceremoniall salutes received and rendred ; his Lordship taking with him the Electorall Ministers, endeavoured to temper and mollifie the gauled minds of the Parties, by conciliating and extenuating the difficulties like to increase by debating the Procuratoriall Letters.

The Commissioners of *Poland* appeared not as then so stiff nor scrupulous in those things of lesser moment ; for when his Lordship propounded the sequestering of the Plenipotentiaries into the hands of the Mediators during the Treaty, they forthwith assented : Whereas the *Sueths* vehemently repugned ; but because the present altercation proceeded from defects, which each party pretended to finde in the others Letters of procuration, it will not be amisse to say something of them.

Interchangably  
exhibite their  
respective Ple-  
nipotentiaries,  
and agree upon  
a second meet-  
ing.

His Lordship  
came to Hol-  
land.

Defects in the  
Suebifh Procur-  
atories.

Whilst the Commissioners of both sides scrutenize each others Plenipotentiarie, sundry errors are found in either. In that of *Suebland*, the *Polonians* object,

1. That they begin with a new unused stile; the title of designed Queen, and end with that (or the subscription) of the Tutors.

2. That they detract from his Majesty of *Poland* the title of Hereditary King of *Suebhen*, and deferre the same to the Daughter of King *Gustavus*.

3. That they intermix the Provinces belonging to the Crowne of *Poland* with the titles in their Commission.

4. That albeit the Princess *Christina* were designed Queen, as is alleadged; it may yet be questioned whence she derives to her self the power of determining of the Common-wealth, and of alliances, which is not permitted to other designed Princes.

5. By what right the Tutors straine to vindicate to themselves a power (chiefly Regall) over their designed Queen, as themselves call her?

6. Whether the designed Queen is bound to stand to conditions made by her Tutors, forasmuch as a Tutor cannot prejudice his Pupill in ought, and chiefly a Subject his Prince, especially in a Kingdome Hereditary.

7. What assurance is there, that the Orders of the Crowne of *Suebhen* will allow of that which by the sayd Tutors (or in their name) is transacted, seeing that in the Procuratorials no mention is made of those Orders?

8. Forasmuch as the Chancellour of *Suebhen* *Axelius Oxenstiern*, is now the chiefest in repute in that Kingdome, and that a Law lately there enacted, remits to him the whole matter of the Treaty with *Poland*, whether he may not nullifie all the Acts that shall be done, in as much as himselfe hath not signed the said Commission? And albeit he may have consented that some other signe the same for him, yet is this of lesse force, in regard that one Tutor cannot substitute another.

The like in those  
of *Poland*.

On the other side (to passe by smaller ones) the *Suebhen* complained of these maine errors in the *Polish* Procuratorials, which they affirme must necessarily be corrected before any meeting could be granted.

1. That the King of *Poland* did usurpe the Title of King of *Suebland*, not onely in the beginning but in the end also of his Procuratory.

2. That the name (say they) of their gracious Lady and Queen is wholly omitted, and in lieu thereof the *Suebifh* Commissioners (which phrase amongst the *Polanders*, by reason of their Kings pretensions is of a double sense) and the like, are intermingled.

3. In

3. In either of the Procuratorials, as well that of the King as of the Common-wealth, the Commissioners of her Majesty are not obscurely ( albeit by way of *Amphibologie* or doubtfully ) called the Commissioners of the King of Poland; as in the peculiar Commission of the King it is sayd, *Wee do also promise that whatsoever by Ours and the Commissioners of the Kingdomes, &c.* As also in the Procuratoriall of the Common-wealth it is exprest thus, *Promising, that whatsoever by the Commissioners of both Parties shall be concluded, We and the Common-wealth shall most willingly approve and ratifie the same:* Which notwithstanding they may by the adverse party be smoothed over in a contrary sense, are yet so clear as they admit of no palliation.

Whilst thus, each side, insisting on their owne reasons, argue and dispute these errors, and shew their zeale in maintaining the rights and titles of their Principalls, they appear so strict in the observation of their Instructions, that at this very beginning a present rupture rather than a continuance was to be expected; insomuch as the *Suethes*, that same day, retired to *Elbing*; and the *Polanders* being about to depart on the morrow, his Lordship after a long conference with them severally, and in company of the *Brandenburgers* joyntly, concluded that he would go thence to *Elbing*, and there employ his utmost endeavour to perswade the *Suethes* to more conformity; as he, with the Electoralls, did the day following, where he was honourably received. The next morning the Commissioners of *Suethen*, with the Electorall Ministers, came to his Lordship, to finde out (if possible) some way of reconciling the differences arising from the Alternall Procuratories.

*Rupture appearing; the parties depart.*

*The Mediators repair to the Suethes at Elbing.*

It would be overmuch to particularize the arguments used to that effect, seeing they could not be prevalent, the Commissioners protesting, as they had formerly, that, bound by the strictnesse of their Instructions, they could not admit of those mediate wayes propounded by his Lordship; and ( at last ) onely condescended to send to their Principalls for Instructions more complying then those they then had, and thought that, at least, six weeks would overpasse before they could receive an answer, by reason of the Winter season, crosse Winds, and the passage, in many places, stopt with Ice: And this they agreed unto conditionally that the *Polish* Commissioners would in the meane time procure other Procuratories from their King, and therein not onely abstains, at least during the Treaty, from all title to the Kingdom of *Suethland*, but also ( in the same ) give their Queen her full and due titles, it being otherwise in vaine to hope for any further meeting.

*Condescension of the Suethes, conditionall.*

These

These things being by his Lordships Letters signified to the Polish Commissioners, they would not listen to any mutation of their Procuratorials, affirming that they dared not so much as once motion the same to their King, much lesse offer to perswade him thereunto: for which cause necessity so requiring, and rather then a work so profitable for the State of *Christendome*, should remain unperfected for the meer scrupulosity of Titles; his Lordship hoping by his Solicitations, in the name and Authority of his Master, to dispose the King of *Poland* to some milder strain, offered himself to undertake a journey with them to *Warsovia*, and to that end commended to them his Letters for his Majesty of *Poland*, in which (with due respect) he acquainted the King with his arrivall and intention for his Court.

His Lordship the day following, returned to *Dantzic*; the Commissioners of *Poland* having remained still at *Morung*, waiting for milder resolutions from the adverse party, or imagining that at length they would accept of those Mediate waies, w<sup>ch</sup> by the Ambassadors of great *Brittaine* and *Brandenburg* had been propounded unto them, or at least that some such thing should, by the Subdelegates, have been proposed, whereby an inclination to peace might have appeared: But seeing that none of these things were done, all hopes of peace excluded, they resolved upon their return, so to be present at the Parliament to be held at *Warsaw*, and therein to give the King, the States of *Poland*, and great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, an account of their actings according to their Commission, and of the pains, prudence, and industry his Lordship had used to promote the Treaty, and as before, so now againe, they solemnly by Letters protest their sincere and reall inclination unto the desired Peace, and that they werenot the causers of the Treaties dissolution, not doubting but that his Lordship would signifie unto the King his Master, the readinesse of their King and State unto the so much wished accord; and on the other side the refractorinesse of the adverse Party.

The Declaration, often urged by the Subdelegates, for the renewing of the Treaty, they suspend untill their Kings intention be knowne; yet so, that they are content to remit the same to the authority and intervention of Great Britains Ambassador, conditionally that the contrary Party, leaving aside differences of smaller moment, will returne to the Treaty, observe the former Articles of the Truce, and abstaine from unjust Marine exactions: All which, they signified unto his Lordship, and that they expected an answer from their King, and so to proceed toward *Warsaw*.

His Lordship was certified, within few dayes, that his Letters were most acceptable to the King of *Poland*, as well in regard

Commissioners  
of Poland re-  
turn to War-  
saw.

gard of the assurance he thereby had of his safe arrivall, as of the King his Masters sincere affection testified in lending his helping hand to this Pacification, which reall friendship, as he had ever promised to himselfe so, he could not but take his Lordships endeavours in good part: Wishing withall that they might be so effectuell as to breake the contumacious perversheffe (as he termed it) of the adverse Party, and to vindicate his injuries now manifest to all the World; concluding that, as the notice of his Lordships arrivall was most welcome, so to see him at *Warsaw* would be no lesse gratefull. To this effect were the Kings Letters, dated the eleventh of February, 1635.

*His Lordships receives invitation to come to Warsaw.*

His Lordship began his journey, and the twentieth of February was received some miles without the City of *Warsaw* by the most illustrious Prince *Janus* of *Radziwill*, with many of the Nobility, and brought, in the Kings Coach, to his lodging, which was faire and richly furnished of all things (Beds excepted) with other entertainment answerable. We found there sundry Ambassadors, as the *Russian*, the *Turke*, and the *Tartar*, for ratification of the peace concluded with their Princes. His Lordship had publick audience, which, according to custome, was at first onely ceremoniall: within few dayes he had severall in private, in which he endeavoured to move the King to give unto the designed Queen of *Suethen*, the Title so vehemently insisted on, and to make a timely composition of those controversies that tooke their rise from the Procuratoriall Letters.

*There was but one (and that) for his Lordship.*

The King, at length, seemed not averse, yet would give no immediate nor absolute consent, but onely hopes thereof, after deliberation to be taken. His Lordship, having remained there three weeks, took his leave of the King and of the Commissioners, who were to follow with the Regall resolution, and began his journey toward *Dantzic*, where hee arrived the twenty eighth of March, sick of a violent burning Feaver which seized on him in his returne, and left but small hopes of his recovery to his Friends and Servants for the space of three weeks: Yet upon the intermission of its violence he was, no lesse then in perfect health, solicitous of the businesse committed to his trust, and accordingly tooke care for setting a time and place of meeting, *Holland* (the former) being incommodious: The Commissioners of *Suethland* thereupon named an Island in the River *Vistula*, commonly called *Sperlings Campe* for the place of congression; for the Mediators residence a Village named *Pisterfeldt*; for the Polish Commissioners, a Towne called *Dirshaw*, and for themselves the Village *Lusson*: The day they prefixed to be the first of May following.

*He contracts sickness.*

R r

Hereupon

Here upon his Lordship sent Letters to the Polish Commissioners (as yet) at *Warsaw*, and soon after received an excusatory answer from the Chancellour, shewing that being ready to take journey, he had been suddenly seised by grievous pangs of the Collick and Stone, which had confined him to his bed, and so hindred his journey, wherat he grieved, fearing lest this delay might prove prejudiciall to the publike affaire: he hoped nevertheless that his Lordship and those who wished his appearance, would make the best construction of his Stay, sickness being in it self a lawfull excuse: promising that so soon as a mitigation of his pains would permit, he would hasten to communicate with his Lordship of things necessary and pertinent to the matter in hand. That as touching the place of meeting and the Mansions designed by the Adverse party, he had referred them to the King, who disapproved thereof, as himself also did, the same being too far distant from his Majesty, to whom frequent recourse would be necessary, for obtaining his Declaration in points that would fall out in the course of the Treaty.

Difficulties about the place of treaty.

He thought it also unfit to commit their Meetings and Consultations, in so weighty a business, to Winds which move that River to impetuosity, seeing they were all alike concerned in the gaining of time, and that the least stirring of the *Vistula* would be no small hinderance to all parties. Wherefore seeing that *Marienwerder* was more commodious for necessary Provisions, and that the adverse party might, in the neighbouring places, have their aboad, and the generall meetings might be made with more facility; he saw no cause, why they should reject the same, nor doubted but that his Lordships Authority, interposed therein, would be prevalent; that he would attend the resolution, perswading and assuring himself of submission to his Lordships reasons touching the place fore-mentioned: That in regard of his infirmity, the resuming of the Treaty might be, by his Lordships intervention, deferred untill the tenth of *May*: He did signifie to his Lordship, that he hoped to remove the Controversie depending about the Plenipotentiary, having already procured of his Majesty to afford the Title of designed Queen of *Swethen*, with this clause inserted, that it might be without prejudice to his right, which being equitable, and no way prejudiciall to the adverse party, he doubted not but his Lordship might easily perswade the Commissioners of the contrary side to accept of.

Marienburg appointed to be the Mediators residence.

Hereof his Lordship (forthwith) certified the Commissioners of *Swethland*, resolving with them that *Marienwerder* should be the Polish Mansion; *Marienburg* the Mediators residence; *Jonas Dorff* their own. This being agreed upon, his Lordship departed from *Dantzic* toward *Marienburg*, as more convenient,

convenient, the same being one of the places sequestred at the last Truce, of *An. 1629.* into the hands of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, whose Uncle Prince *Sigismundus* was lately come thither (with the fore-named Electorall Ambassadors) to be assistant at the Treaty.

The parties arrived within few daies after, at their severall Stations before-named, and the Mediators so soon as they were certified that the Polish Commissioners were come to their designed Quarters, convened in the Castle of *Marienburg*, to deliberate what was to be first propounded, wherupon it was resolved that the first addresse should be made towards those of *Suethland* (then likewise at their Rendezvous) to see what Resolution they had received from their Principalls concerning their Procuratories, by reason wherof the maine Treaty had been hitherto deferred, that so the same might be signified to those of *Poland*, who were no lesse desirous to know it.

*The Mediators meet and consult.*

His Lordship undertook that Journey with Mr. *Gordon* the Kings Agent, and *Georgius à Rauske*, one of the Electorall Ministers, to whose propositions Count *Brabe* in the name of his Colleagues (into which number the Lord *John Oxenstierna* Sonne to the Great Chancellour *Axelius Oxenstierna* was lately entred) made answer, That hee had received new Procuratoralls, but to the same effect and nothing changed, which ought not to bee demanded of them but from the Commissioners of *Poland*, as without which no further meeting could be hoped for: That this was their resolution, this was a Law and a Command layd upon them, the limits whereof they might not exceed: That they would send their Subdelegate to *Marienburg*, the day following, with their Procuratoriall Letters, whereof the adverse Party being advertised, theirs might likewise be produced. Concerning the other circumstances about the time and place of meeting, and the renewing of the instrument of security, which might be done by changing a few words onely, those might be afterwards agreed upon. This was signified to the Commissioners of *Poland* the same day.

*Repairs to the Sueths.*

*The conclusion certified to the Polanders.*

That ensuing, the Subdelegates of each side came to *Marienburg*; from the *Polanders*, Secretary *Lode* and *Nabarowski* beforenamed; from those of *Suethen*, Secretary *Lording*: the last, produced the *Suethish* Procuratories, and required that the *Polanders* might do the like: he retyring, *Lode* succeeded, shewing a new Procuratoriall, but finding that of *Suethen* to be the former old one, and taking the same as done in scorne, withdrawes discontented. *Lording* being againe called in, was sharply taxed by the Mediators, the blame wherof he declyned from himselfe as happening through some mistake, offering

*The Subdelegates meet.*

offering to return and shew the Errour to his Principals. Secretary *Lode* is perswaded to stay untill the day following. *Lording* returns accordingly, and brings with him a new Procuratory from the Commissioners of *Suethland*, with Letters excusatory for the former mistake which had proceeded from the Commissary *Nicodemie*, who had over-hastily given him the one for the other: Shewing withall that his Principalls conceived *Conrads-waldt*, or *Altenmarck* (where the last six years Truce had been concluded) to be a place fit and convenient for the generall meeting. He again with-drawing, the Procuratory he brought, was shewed to Secretary *Lode*; who having perused the same, finds it to be of like effect as the former, excepting only that the name of King *Vladislus* was expressed: As touching that which he had brought, he referred unto the Mediators, whether they would communicate the same unto the Adverse Party; and that if it contained ought which was not satisfactory, they were to treat with his Principals thereupon.

*Difficulties about the place for the generall meeting.*

That as to *Conrads-Waldt* or *Altenmarck*, they were not any way convenient for the generall meeting, as having nothing but the ruines of a Church, scarce any mark of Village or house to be seen, which was neither corresponding to the Dignity of so great Ambassadors, nor to the security of the Parties: But to him the Towne of *Stume*, being æqui-distant from the residence of the Parties, seemed more convenient. *Lording*, made acquainted with the arguments used by the Polish Subdelegate, left the decision of any scruples to his Principalls; but declined *Stume* for the same reason alleadged by the *Rolandars*, that Towne being a Garrison. The conference ending, hereupon the Mediators, as also the Subdelegates descended from the Castle.

*The Mediators return to the Suethes:*

The same afternoon, his Lordship, with Agent *Gordon* and the forenamed *Rauske*, returned to the Commissioners of *Suethen* (then at *Jonas Dorff*) to conclude about the place and day of meeting, wherby more time might not be wasted in frivolous delaies. Their Proposition had two heads.

*Their propositions.*

1. Whether they would accept of the Polish Procuratory and sequester it into the hands of the Mediators.

2. To settle the place and day of meeting about which they were now come thither, to the end that now at length the main Treaty might be entred upon.

To these things Count *Brabe* answered briefly, that as then he had not read over the Polish Procuratory, and the same being of moment, he desired that daies respite to consider therof, promising to send Commissary *Nicodemie* with a speedy answer to *Marienburg*: That to the Sequestration of the Procuratories, he had never consented; in stead of *Stume*, as being in commodious

commodious for them, he propounded *Gorgendorff* or *Peterswaldt*, both discernable from thence: These things concluded, the day of convention would be soon agreed on.

Commissary *Nicodemie* came to *Marienbourg* according to promise, and after a recapitulation of the preceding daies Propositions, in answer therunto, he shewed, that neither did his Principals accept of the Plenipotentiary produced by those of *Poland*, nor could they admit of the propounded *Medium* of Sequestration: That sundry defects and errors impeded the first, the same being derogatory from the honour and right of their Queen, as they had formerly affirmed: Neither was that Protestation (saving our Royall Right) satisfactory, seeing that, what the King gave therby with the one hand, he took away with the other. As to the Sequestration, in regard that interposing *Medium* did not remove the defects, and that the Procuratories would by that meanes be esteemed but as private papers, it could not be admitted.

Not admitted.

Objections.

That nevertheless, if the Titles entire were conceded to their Queen, as the foundation wheron the Treaty might be built, and without which it would come to nothing; that then at the meeting, the Sequester might be taken into deliberation; which thus moderated, he believed they would not refuse. For the rest, that his Principalls would think themselves much gratified if the time of convention were speedily appointed at either of the places *Gorgendorff* or *Peterswaldt* above named, whereunto (as he supposed) they were, even then, ready.

Hereupon, his Lordship repaired (the day following) to *Marienwerder* and related these particulars to the Commissioners of *Poland*; who, after long consultation, concluded that they could not any way diminish the Kings Title and Right, as things appertaining to him onely: That they would make report thereof to his Majesty, and earnestly sollicite for new Procuratorials, for the obtention whereof they gave some hopes upon the two conditions following:

His Lordship repairs to the Polanders.

1. That the Sequestration of the Procuratories might be accepted.

Their conditional conclusions.

2. That in the title, the Principality of *Esthonia*, whereto the King could never be induced to consent, were omitted, and promised to signifie the Regall answer to his Lordship the day ensuing, at *Marienbourg*.

With these Resolves his Lordship deputed Agent *Gordon* to the Commissioners of the other side, which having heard, they replied, that now at last they perceived, how that those of *Poland* did shew themselves in some measure, enclining towards a Peace, but it was in words only, and that in effect, and in the very matter they were averse unto it, which the

Englands Agent sent to the Swedes.

S f

conditions

conditions by them added (and that could not possibly be accepted) did sufficiently demonstrate, forasmuch as the Province of *Esthonia* had been time out of mind, and without all controversy possessed by the Kings of *Suethland*; by reason wherof, and until the absolute and entire Titles and rights belonging to their Queen were granted, they could by no means condescend to the sequestering of the Procuratories.

*Their finall resolution.*

At last, after much perswasion and many arguments used, they thus declare their finall resolution: That the full Title should be given to their Queen, as it had been in the year, 1629. *Viz.* Queen of *Suethes*, *Gothes*, and *Vandalls*, Great Princeesse of *Finland*, &c. and albeit *Esthonia* were omitted, the possession wherof was most certainly theirs, they would not insist thereon so stiffly, provided that now at length the meeting might be appointed, wherein the Sequester of the Procuratories might be considered: And that if his Lordship would engage his word for those of *Poland* in order to the Premises, and that the convention were concluded to be on the Thursday following, the 14 of May at *Sinmsdorf*, they would be ready against that time.

*Intimated to the Polanders who promise compliance.*

His Lordship gave speedy notice hereof to the Polish Commissioners at *Marionwerder*, desiring their resolutions thereupon: the next morning he received an answer to this effect; That they willingly assented to the place and time of meeting, & entreated the Mediators not to admit of the least protraction therof: that as to the Procuratories, there needed no scruple to be made, and that they would do therein what was right and needfull. So soon as his Lordship had received this answer, he certified the same by Letters to the *Suethish* Commissioners, engaging his word that other Procuratorials should be exhibited by those of *Poland*, either at the first meeting or within few daies after.

*Instrument of Security renewed.*

The Commissioners of *Suethland* returned a thankfull answer for his Lordships engaged word, upon the trust wherof they would meet at the time appointed; they only desired that his Lordship would intimate unto the Commissioners of *Poland* the necessity of signing (a new) the Instrument of Security formerly drawn at *Holland* by their Subdelegates, as an inducement to the rest of the Treaty, which his Lordship deferred not, and the next day all parties being agreed, the said former Instrument was renewed, with this clause added; That it should remain in full force in all points, except the places of aboad and meeting, which by the consent of all parties were changed: hereunto the Subdelegates, *Christopher Lode*, and *Daniell Nabarowskie* on the one side, *George Lording* on the other, signing, his Lordship and the Marquess *Sigismund* of *Brandenburg* were Witnesses.

The

The same night (late) there arrived at *Marienburg* the French Ambassador, *Claudius de Mesme* Baron D' *Avaux*, who came from *Stocholme*, where (by extreimity of Weather and the Ice) he had been detained six months. From the States Generall came likewise *Rochus van Hornart*, chief Counsellor in the high Courts of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *West Freizeland*, *Andreas Bicker* Burg-Master of *Amsterdam*, and *Joackim Andre* chief Counsellor in the high Court of *Frieze*; who were all invited by the *Suethes*, as also by *Berkeman* (one of the Electorals) from the *Marquesse Sigismund*, unto the next daies generall Convention at *Stumbdorff*.

*The Ambassadors of France and Holland come to Marienburg.*

The next morning early, his Lordship and the *Marquesse Sigismund*, according to the usuall custome, severally visited the before named Ambassadors, congratulating their safe arrivall, and then repaired to *Stumbdorff* the place of meeting: The French Ambassador (with those from the States) following soone after; and whilst they take up Quarters as the poverty of a devasted Villiage would permit; the Commissioners, Parties, being equally distant from the place, measure out their way and steps with such exact slownesse, fearing even thereby to give each other the least pre-eminency, that at one and the same time they enter their Tents, which were placed at the two entries into the sayd Villiage.

*The Mediators intervisie, and joyntly repaire to Stumbdorff the place of Treatie. The parties arrive.*

Their Traine was according to the dignity of the Parties, and as hath been set downe at their entry into *Holland*. The accustomed visits and civilities, performed between the Mediators and the Parties, took up the time untill four in the afternoon. At length, all the Mediators met in the quarter of the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, as the more spacious and the more equall, so to make way into the maine businesse, having consumed already so much time in the Preparatories onely: and night hastning on; lest the day and this first meeting should be without fruit, the Mediators agreed to propound the present Sequestration of the Procuratories, which had been hetherto delayd, that so they might enter upon the things of more moment: And that there might be a timely obviating of competitions that might arise between the Ambassadors of great *Brittaine* and *France*, as also between the Electorall Ministers and those of the States Generall: it was thought good that his Lordship with the Electoralls, and the French Ambassador with the others (the Marquis *Sigismund* remaining still in the Mediatoriall Tent, which for the reception and consultation of the Mediators was placed in the midst of the Villiage) should repaire by course, as occasion required to the Parties Commissioners of each side.

*Meane used for avoiding competitions.*

Accordingly, his Lordship, with the *Brandenburgers*, going to the *Suethes*, the others went to the *Polanders*, and conforme

*Proposition.*

*Not consented  
unto.*

conforme to agreement, the Sequestration was propounded to both. The *Polanders* made no exception: the *Suethes* affirmed that in regard the promised Procuratories were not yet come, they could not consent therunto: But yet, that time might not be unprofitably trifled, they were contented to lay aside the point of the Procuratories for that day, and were desirous to make entrance into the Principall Treatie, whereunto that a way might be opened; it behoved them (said they) first to know whether or not the King of *Poland* would absolutely renounce the right he pretended unto *Suethen*, which they beleev'd to be the cheife and onely mean to perfect the Treatie of Pacification.

*Demand made  
by the Suethes.*

*Answer and de-  
mand of the  
Polanders.*

This was by the Mediators related to the Commissioners of *Poland*, who without further deliberation reply'd, that it was expedient for them also to understand, whether (a resignation suppos'd, but not granted) the others would restore the Kingdome of *Suethland*, with all other things wherof the King had been deprived; seeing that, where the same right is, it may be by the same reasons disputed.

*Result of the  
Mediators.*

The Mediators perceiving the difficulties, wherein by these extreams, the parties did involve themselves at this first beginning, from which they could not be freed, unlesse some mediate waies were found out, and it being their part and office to propound such waies unto the parties disagreeing, they concluded (the better to stop these beginnings, which in things of weight and moment are wont to encrease) to demand from the parties three daies respite, within which time they might happily conceive some waies and reasons for bringing the businesse neerer to a composition.

*Accepted by  
all.*

This was agreed unto, howbeit unwillingly by the *Suethes*, because the Poles hereby deferred the producing of their promised Procuratorie; and the Mediators for that first daies conclusion, thought meet that as a good Omen to the happy issue of the Treaty in agitation, the parties should meet and salute each other, whereby their minds as yet alienated, might by degrees and mutuall civilities be prepared to Peace and Amity, and that (to the end the same might be without prejudice or preheminance to either side) they should issue forth of their respective Tents at one and the same instant, and accompanied by the Mediators, meet in the mid-way of the Village, without any mention of the businesse in question, which might sound harshly to either side. This was gratefull to both parties, they professing themselves most willingly ready to any act of courtesie and humanity: Whereupon they met in most friendly manner, and having so greeted and congratulated each other, each party returned to their residence; those of *Poland* to *Marienwerder*; the Mediators to *Maricnburg*, the *Suethes* to *Jonas Dorff*. The

*That dayes  
conclusion.*

The next day the Mediators convene in the Castle of *Marienburg*, to consult and to return prepared with some mediatic means of reconciling the differences touching the resignation or restitution of the Kingdome of *Suethe*. But that there might arise no dispute competitionary between the Ambassadors of Great *Brittaine* and *France*, a Table was so equally placed as the Session could give no precedency to either. They being set, and having discoursed some time of severall means for compounding the matter in question, his Lordship exhibited his mind in writing, which imported,

The Mediators meete.

That he saw no better way for reconciling the extreame of resignation and restitution, then by having an equall regard to the Honour and Dignity of his Majesty of *Poland*, and to the security of the State of *Suethe*.

His Lordships proposition in Order to the whole matter.

In reference to the King, it would be necessary that the Lawes made in *Suetland*, wherby King *Sigismundus* and his Posterity had been deprived of the Inheritance and Succession to that Crown, should be repealed and nullified, and as violent Edicts, to be razed out of the publike Records.

Concerning the State and Kingdome of *Suetland*, it would be sufficiently secured if his Majesty of *Poland* in regard of the nearnesse of consanguinity, between him and the Princess *Christina*, did remit to her during her life the right he had to that Crown, conditionally that the lawfull Heirs of his body might enjoy their right of Succession in the future, or those failing Heirs; And in case such Issue should faile on both sides, that then the right of Election should return to the States of the Kingdome. Hereunto it would also be requisite, that in the point of the Queens future Marriage, the King of *Polands* consent should be in friendly manner required, and in case of doubts or scruples arising, the approbation of his Electorall Highnesse of *Brandenburg* might be desired: That it would be conducing hereunto, if King *Vladislaus* should joyn in marriage with a Family allied to the Kingdome of *Suethe* by friendship or confederacy, the consent of the States of *Suetland* concurring: Neither could there be a better way to remove all doubts and jealousies, then if the young Queen of *Suetland* were joyned in marriage with Prince *Casimirus*, brother to his Majesty of *Poland*.

Concerning the restitution of the other Lands and Provinces taken in War, which those of *Poland* demanded, the main question of the Kingdome being decided, that would follow of it self, *Quoviam sublata causa tollitur effectus*: those pretences having been the cause of that War: Neither could the *Suethe* in lieu of the said restitution, demand any re-imburement of charges, for then the *Polanders*, and his Electorall Highnesse of *Brandenburg* and others, might with far more reason require

T t

reparation

reparation of their losses, and restitution of the Tolls extorted beyond measure, even contrary to the Articles, in the late six years Truce: that it was now time to cease and abrogate those unjust oppressions and exactions upon forraign Trade, and to reduce commerce to its former freedom: That in like manner it was consentaneous to reason, that the Elector of *Brandenburg* having sustained damages so great as no equall compensation could be hoped for, should now (at least) have a full restitution of all his Ports, Fortresses, Towns, Lands, and Possessions.

Lastly, that regard was to be had also of the Duke of *Curland*, who having, by means of the War, received infinite prejudice, ought in reason to share in the benefit of the Peace.

The other Mediators deliver theirs,

His Lordships Proposition being read in presence of the Mediators; *Berkman* (heretofore named) in the name of *Marquesse Sigismund* and the rest of the Electoralls exhibited one, somewhat more breife, but in effect the same. The French, and States Ambassadors delivered theirs by word of mouth, these (later named) varying little (if any thing) from what the others had delivered in writing.

The French Ambassador (a Cavalier of admirable endowments and singular Eloquence) at first, opposed his Lordship, representing that it would be of no advantage, and would be inconvenient likewise, to bring againe upon the Stage, and to determine that unrellishing and odious question of the Kingdome: that it were otherwise if this were a case which could be easily decided, or that might be tryed before a Tribunall. On the other side, it was mainly insisted on, as notoriously injurious and prejudiciall to other like Governments.

At last, it was unanimously consented, that the day ensuing, a proposition should be made to the respective Parties, by way of question onely, Whether his Majesty of *Poland* would be pleased (as also the young Queen *Christina*) to renounce, both for himselfe and his Relations their right in *Suetben*, under these two Conditions.

The result.

I. That the young Queen *Christina* and her Issue sayling, King *Wladislaus* and his lawfull Heirs might obtaine the right of succession unto the Crown of *Suetben*.

II. That restitution be made of all such places and Territories as (during the War) had been taken, either in *Leifland* or *Prussia*, from the King and Crown of *Poland*.

Hereupon, the consultation ending, all the Mediators, the Electoralls excepted, rettyred, from the Castle, to their severall lodgings in the Town.

The severall mediating Ministers, and Parties interessed, meet the second time at *Stumbjorff*, where (as at first) they divide

divide themselves, his Lordship with the *Brandenburgers* re-  
paire to the *Suetbes*, the *French* and States Ambassadors to the  
*Poles*, and urge the Sequestration of the Procuratories, that  
so they may more confidently proceed in the maine businesse.  
The *Polanders* affirmed they had new Procuratories, but re-  
fused to consigne them, unlesse their acceptance were secured  
by attestation, as also their restorement in case of Peace or  
Warr. On the other side, the *Suetbes* delivered up theirs with  
a protestation in writing, and the draught of an attestation;  
which his Lordship, with the Electorall Ministers, rejected;  
not permitting any prescription of their Acts to be made to  
them by any but their owne attestation to be sufficient.

The Commissioners of *Poland*, understanding that the *Suetbes*  
had delivered up their procuratoriall Letters, sent theirs to  
the French Ambassador, then in the Mediatoriall Tent, but  
committed their protestation to the Ambassador of great  
*Brittaine*, and intimated their expectancie of an attestation  
with the first opportunity. Hereupon the Mediators exhibite  
to each of the Parties the Procuratories received from the  
other. Those of *Poland* would not once overlooke that of  
the *Suetbes*, saying that, without seeing, they gave credite  
thereunto, as not being incredulous; and would not so  
much as take notice of their Protestation.

But on the other side, the *Suetbes* did deliberately Supervise  
and ponder the *Polish* Procuratories, and againe complained  
that their Queenes titles were imperfectly couched, the word  
Great; (relating to) Princess of *Finland* being omitted, nei-  
ther would accept thereof, notwithstanding all the perswa-  
sions the French Ambassador could use. He, with the *Hol-  
landers*, made relation of this unthought of difficultie to the  
Commissioners of *Poland*, who (hearing it) were somewhat  
troubled, imputing the error to the ignorance or heedlesnes  
of the writer, affirming that they were free therefrom: but  
to remove that rubb, the Lord Chancellor *Zadzick* did offer  
to supply the defect with his owne hand, in presence of the  
Mediators, there being no other meanes to rectify the same,  
nor any possibility of recovering other Procuratories.

This offer of his was excepted against by those of *Suetbland*,  
who alledged that the Chancellor had no power or authority  
to change or correct ought, after the King had once signed the  
same; as also that the Procuratory would be thereby imper-  
fect and blemished, in regard nothing could be added without  
interlining. At last, through the entreaties of the French and  
States Ambassadors, and the perswasions of his Lordship, they  
yeilded thus far, that they would accept of the foresaid corre-  
ction of that defect, conditionally that, forasmuch as new Pro-  
curatories from the States of *Poland* could not be obtained  
without

The new Pro-  
curatories in-  
terchangably  
communicated  
new difficultie  
about the Title

without a Parliament first called, others were procured from the King within ten dayes space; that otherwise, and save onely to gratifie the Mediators, they would not have so easily accepted the same.

*Reconciled.*

This sharpe answer exceedingly irritated the Commissioners of *Poland*, who spared not to say that they had made peace with sundry Nations, even Barbarous and Infidels, and had not found so much difficultie with them as with the *Suetbes*: affirming withall that they were not lesse ready for a War (in case of rupture) then the adverse party; with which constancy of theirs, or rather by the endeavours of the Mediators, the *Suetbes*, somewhat mollified, accepted of the interlying before offered; the Mediatoriall attestations being deferred untill their return to *Marienburg*.

*Scope of the  
Procuratories.*

The disputes and differences about the Procuratories being thus determined, it will not be amiss to shew (briefly) in what forme they with the Acts relating to them were couched; the scope of the sayd Letters Procuratoriall being (to either party) That whatsoever they or the greater part of them, the absence of one or more notwithstanding shall each with other agree or conclude upon, either touching perpetuall peace or longer Truce, the same should be fully accepted of and ratified with all due and requisite formes. The full Titles of either of the Princes interestted were abbreviated with an *&c. &c.* as no way derogatory.

*Polish Protest.*

The Protestation of the *Polish* Commissioners was to this effect; That the King of *Poland*, &c. albeit his Hereditary right to the Crown of *Suetbland*, for the maintaining whereof there had been so long and bloody Wars, was no lesse cleare then the Sun, and could not be impaired by any arguments to the contrary; had notwithstanding, at the instant requests of the mediating Ministers of so many and potent Princes, and to manifest his aversion to the effusion of Christian blood condescended so far, as in his Procuratoriall Letters to his Commissioners to permit that, to the most illustrious *Christina*, the Title of Designed Queen of *Suetbes*, *Goths*, and *Vandalls*, Great Princessesse of *Finland*. &c. &c. should be inserted, and the sayd Title, in the adverse Procuratorialls, to be by his Commissioners accepted of, yet without prejudice to his Hereditary right: and therefore they (the sayd Commissioners of *Poland*) did, in his Majesties name, make this solemn protest in the most ample and usuall form in such cases accustomed and required, in presence of the Ambassadors of the Princes mediating, for the indemnity of his sayd Majesties Hereditary right of succession to the Crown of *Suetbland*; in evidence and testimony whereof, as well for the present as future they desired attestation from the sayd mediating Ministers under their hands and seals.

The

The Protest of the Suethish Commissioners imported; *The Sueths Protest.* That they having observed that the King and Re-publike of Poland in their severall Procuratoriall Letters, had omitted certain Titles due to their Queen, as *Esthonia, Carelia, and Ingria*, which hitherto they could not be induced to give, no more then to raze out of their own the Title of *Suethland* ascribed to the King of Poland, for the effecting wherof they had long and earnestly endeavoured, yet now at length, and at the earnest requests and intervention of the mediating Ambassadors, to shew their propensity to Peace, as also that the adverse party might be more equitably complying in the future, they had assented to the acceptation therof; With this solemn Protest interposed. and consigned into the hands of the Mediators, and by them fully accepted; as appeared by their attestation therupon: That the same should not either in present or future time, any way prejudice or diminish the Right and Dignity of their Queen and of the Kingdome of *Suethen*: much lesse that any Title or Right was thereby conceded or given to his Majesty of Poland, either directly or indirectly, expressed or implied. *And thus ended the second meeting at Stumbsdorff.*

The Mediators and the Parties being assembled now the third time, in the foresaid place, the former according to promise, delivered their respective attestations; that of his Lordship and the Electorals containing: That forasmuch as it had pleased the parties to commit their Plenipotentiaries into the hands of the Mediators, untill the Negotiation being brought to a happy Peace (if it should so please God) the same might be framed to the satisfaction of both parties, and accordingly re-delivered: They had received the Plenipotentiary of the Lords Commissioners of *Suethland*, with a Protest, and this Caution therein inserted; That in case the Treaty should not have the wished end, the said Plenipotentiary should be restored and the Mediators receive back their present attestation: That they had also accepted of the said Protest, the same to be referred to the publike Acts. The French with the States Ambassadors gave the like to the Commissioners of Poland.

Thus at last these difficulties about the Procuratorials were (after the consumption of foure months) by the Mediatoriall endeavours removed, and a proceed unto the Principall and more weighty-businesse of the main Treaty intended. To which end, the Mediators, dividing themselves, remonstrated to the severall parties what had been three daies before concluded at *Marienburg*. The Sueths at the first overture, answered Negatively to both the Conditions, wherby the King of Poland, as had been conceived, might be moved to a resignation,

*Procuratoriall difficulties removed.*

*Former refusal communicated to the parties.*

*Suetbes answer  
Negatively.*

nation, affirming, that as to the Succession and Hereditary Right pretended by King *Vladislaws* and his Heirs unto the Crown of *Suehland*, there was a decree of the States of that Kingdome expressly against the same, which they might no way contradict; and added withall, that of future contingencies, to which sense the Posterity to ensue might be referred, there could be no certainty determined; And to the other, *Viz.* the restitution, they would not once treat thereof unlesse they were first assured of an absolute and entire resignation, that being the ground-work of the whole Affaire, which being obtained, they would declare themselves in most effectuall and friendly manner. This was all that his Lordship could obtain by way of answer, notwithstanding many arguments used to have gained further, which he with the Electorals referred to the judgment of the Mediators in general: And from the Polish Commissioners, by the Ambassadors of *France* and *Holland*, was delivered an answer, in almost the same termes by way of conversion; to wit, that the meer motion of a renunciation was no lesse odious to them, and that they were as far from consenting thereto, unlesse a restitution were first conceded.

*The like given  
by the Polanders.*

The Mediators, pondring these extreame, feared least the relating of them might further exasperate the parties, who appeared already more prone to War then Peace, and therefore resolved to return and desire of them, that so far as they had hitherto answered far from the matter, they would come neerer and declare themselves more clearly. The Suetbes did still insist upon an absolute resignation, in reference whereunto, they declare for their Cathegoricall resolution; that the same being granted by the Polanders, they, to shew their good inclination toward Peace, would restore the rich Country of *Prussia*, conditionally that they might be re-imburfed of their Charges: which offer of theirs, not being in any sort satisfactory to his Lordship and the *Brandenburgers*, they insisted (by way of anticipation) upon the restoring of *Leifland* also, but finding the Suetbes utterly averse therunto, they without obtaining further, returned to the Mediatoriall Colledge.

*Offer made by  
the Suetbes.*

*The Poles desire  
respice.*

*The same granted.*

*The Suetbes  
therewith offended.*

In the mean time the Commissioners of *Poland*, urged by the other Mediators, upon the two foresaid Conditions, desired to have them in writing, with time of deliberation untill the day following, wherein they would further declare themselves touching the same. The Mediators (upon consultation) agreed to satisfie the request of the Polanders, conditionally that there should be no further treating by writ, as being both slow and dangerous; this being given as a help to memory only: On the other side, the Suetbes understanding that the adverse party had required that daies respice to consider of the

the conditions propounded, and the grant thereof by the Mediators, they were exceedingly incensed with that delatory answer, in regard that they having sincerely discovered themselves as far as they could, in a manner; the Polanders had not daigned to make any equall return; for which cause they saw no reason (said they) to condescend to another meeting, before they had some resolution in the point of resignation: His Lordship endeavoured to moderate their violence tending to a Rupture, but in vain, insomuch as he left them discontented. He was but newly entred into the Tent of the Polish Commissioners, but that Secretary *Lording* followed, to tell him that his Lords the Suetes had consented to the next daies meeting.

All parties hereupon convening the fourth time; the first point was to learn how those of *Poland* would declare themselves upon the former conditions; to them the French and States Ambassadors repaired; and received this answer; That they did not reject the foresaid conditions, but that they found them not to be sufficient, wherby the King might be induced to make a resignation: They therefore requested the Mediators to consider of some other more equall termes. These words (when related) seemed very strange to the other Mediators; and not fit to be communicated to those of *Sueten*, except they were accompanied with other circumstances.

The former offer waved by the Poles as insufficient.

After a serious debate amongst themselves, they pitch upon five other Articles.

1. That the harsh Lawes enacted against King *Sigismundus* and his house, might be abolished, so as the Suetes might freely elect Kings to themselves out of that Family.
2. That satisfaction should be made to the King and his Brethren out of the Territory of *Leisland*, as the King and the States should agree.
3. That there should be firm friendship between the two Kingdomes, and the Queen *Christina* to be married into a Family, not Enemy to the King and State of *Poland*: King *Vladislaus* also to match in like manner.
4. The Children lawfully proceeding from *Vladislaus* and his Wife on the one side, and *Christina* and her Husband on the other side, to be joyned in marriage.
5. To be mutually assisting against the Enemies of each other.

Five other mediate means propounded.

With these, his Lordship and the Electorall Ministers went to those of *Poland*: The French and Hollanders at the same time acquainting the Suetes with the said Articles: the Polanders required that they might transcribe and have time until the Munday ensuing to deliberate; that then they would declare their finall resolution: But in the mean time, the Suetes absolutely

Taken by the Poles into deliberation.

absolutely

Rejected by the  
Suetbes.

absolutely rejected these new Conditions as being worse then the former, and derogatory from the Dignity of their Queen and the Kingdome of *Suetben*, and again insisted upon an entire renunciation; without which no Peace to be hoped for. The answer of either party being rehearsed in the Mediatoriall Colledge; it was thought good that the Poles informed of the perseverance of the Suetbes in the point of resignation, should be pressed to open their minds more freely, and that the Suetbs should be perswaded to meet upon the Munday following; against which time the *Polanders* were to deliberate upon the five Conditions newly propounded by the Mediators.

Reply of the  
Poles in point  
of resignation.

Hereupon the *French* and *Hollanders* returned to those of *Poland*, who no sooner heard that odious word of Resignation againe repeated, but they became exceedingly enraged, chiefly Duke *Radziwill*, who replied, Let not your Lordships suffer your selves to be thus mocked by the *Suetbes*; neither will we any longer; if they desire yet any further declaration upon that point, this is our resolution, we will rather dye then Resigne.

The Suetbes  
refuse to meete.

During this, the Agent, Master *Gordon* had, in his Lordships name, endeavoured to move the *Suetbes* to meet againe the Munday following; to whom, before he could end his speech, they answered peremptorily, That they would not meet any more: That they were deluded, the time protracted, and nothing hitherto effected, except the meetings, worthy of the Mediators paines: That at *Jonas Dorff* they would expect the resolution of the *Polanders* touching the point in question.

The Mediators, very solicitous how to wade out of those difficulties, at last, prevailed so far with the *Polanders*, as to meet whensoever they should by Letters appoint the same.

His Lordship  
goes to the  
Suetbes.

The day following, his Lordship, with Master *Gordon* and the States Ambassadors repaired to *Jonas-Dorff* to visite and perswade the *Suetbes* to a future meeting on the 23. May, 2. June, as also to treat with them particularly, about what they had further in Commission, touching the Tolls, exacted from the Subjects of their Principalls, Trading in those parts. And here in the first place, the *Suetbes* consented without difficulty, to the meeting they had refused the day before, excusing the same by their mistake, as having conceived it had been chiefly desired by the adverse party, not by the Mediators, and professed they would meet at their instance whensoever it pleased them.

They consent to  
meete.

Certaine grievances com-  
plained of by  
his Lordship  
and the Hol-  
landers to the  
Suetbes.

From this purpose, his Lordship and the *Hollanders* converted to that of the Tolls, remonstrating to the Commissioners of *Suetben*, that sundry unjust and intollerable exactions had

had been practised in their Tolls and Customes: Yea so far as it was affirmed that, upon due computation, prooffe would be made that one Shipp, passing and repassing, had payd sixty Rexdollars upon the Last, notwithstanding that in the late Treaty six years past, a far lesse sum, even the third part had been allowed. They affirmed also, that over and above the same, sundry other extraordinary exactions, as Anchor-gelt, Mast-gelt, Passeport, Seale-gelt, Clerks Fees, and others of the like kinde had been extorted: all which things, introduced against the wonted custome, were now grown common. The Ambassadors therefore, by vertue of their Commissions and Instructions, required, of the sayd Commissioners, that with all conveniency, those excesses might be abtained from; the things being in themselves unjust, and derogating from their Masters Dignities to be practised, they present, and not able to relieve the injured Plaintiff:

Count *Brabe*, in the name of the rest, made answer, that indeed sundry complaints had been made unto him about the Tolls; but, so far as he knew, none had ever proved that any new exaction or burthen had been introduced contrary to the agreement: that moreover they had no Commission to treat of this matter untill the businesse of the Pacification were ended, which done, they would conforme themselves strictly unto their Instructions in that point: That in the mean time, they would send *Peter Speiring* (their Toll-Master) to inform their Lordships of all things, and that they would enjoyne him to cease all extraordinary burthens, if any had crept in: Thus ended that conference. The same night his Lordship certified the Polish Commissioners of the meeting to be as formerly appointed.

The time being come, their first work was to see what the *Polanders* would declare upon the Mediatoriall conditions last propounded, who, to his Lordship and the Electoralls, returned the same answer as to the former: *Viz.* That they rejected them not, but found them not such as might move their King to renounce a Kingdome, which was no small matter; and therefore desired the Mediators either to supply the defects of those or to propound others.

This answer being repeated in the Mediatoriall Colledge, what before seemed strange was now judged wholly impossible, none knowing what to propound of new that might be acceptable to both Parties, whom therefore they resolved not to smooth any longer; but that, if themselves had ought to propound, they might do it. Hereupon they part, his Lordship to the *Suetbes*, the French to the *Polanders*, each accompanied as before; but when the *Suetbes* found themselves

The Suetes  
enter into;  
passion.

again frustrated of the promised resolve from them of *Poland*, they began, not without passion, to rehearse how much they had already granted to the adverse party: Whereas we (sayd they) desire nothing from the King of *Poland* but an empty Title, we are content to surrender the most noble and rich Province of *Prussia*; which compared together, was but as a Feather to a Wedge of Gold. That they were sorry they had declared themselves so farr, and assured that so soon as their Army should arrive from *Sueten*, they would not onely retract *Prussia*, but likewise treat in tearms much more difficult. That as touching *Leifland*, they would not part with the least clod thereof, neither was it once so much as mentioned in their Instructions.

The Commissioners of *Poland* were no lesse stiff toward the *French* and *Hollanders*, repeating what they had formerly spoken: but being somewhat pacified, they yeilded so far as to deliver to the Mediators those things under trust, which as a supplement they thought fit to be added to the five fore-mentioned Conditions.

Those of Po-  
land add ten  
other Articles  
for a supplement  
to the former.

1. That the young Queen dying, King *Vladislaws* might be chosen King of *Suetland*.

2. That the *Suetes* should consider how compensation should be made to the Kings Brothers and Sisters.

3. That it might be free for them to Elect the Posterity of *Vladislaws*.

4. That Prince *Casimir* the Kings Brother might Raign in the Regall absence.

5. That the young Queen *Christina* might be married with the Kings advice.

6. That *Esthonia* should be surrendred as a part of *Leifland*.

7. That all the Ordinance taken away in the great Dutchy of *Lithuania* should be restored.

8: That the Ships detained in *Wisnar* and elsewhere should be set free.

9. That they should abstain from Extortions hitherto practised in the Customes.

10. That reparation should be made for the losses sustained by particular persons in their Possessions and Priviledges, and Exiles to be restored to their former Estates.

Things tending  
to a breach, the  
Mediators de-  
sire respice.

The Mediators conferring hereupon, and finding the answer of both sides tending to a breach, they conclude to tell the *Suetes* that those of *Poland* seemed to give some hopes of a renunciation, seeing they had not hitherto absolutely denied the same: That in order therunto they had added some supplies to the Conditions last propounded, about which the Mediators being willing to consult seriously, desired the next generall

generall meeting might be deferred for foure daies; wherunto the *Sueshes* (yet not without reluctancy) consenting, the others did so likewise.

The said day (being the <sup>15</sup>/<sub>3</sub> *May*, ) they congregated the sixth time, and the Mediators pains were the greater, by how much the parties, dissenting in extreams, seemed to breath nothing but present War. No new Counsell remained, no mediate means could be more found out; neither was it doubted by the Mediators, but that the Supplements added by the *Polanders* (as aforesaid) would cause a certain breach. Yet that they might not be wanting to their Mediatoriall Office, they agreed, setting the Polish conditions aside, to demand of each party (as for the last time) their finall Declarations, and how far their Commissions extended. From the *Suethes*, whether by their Instructions they had not power to treat of an entire restitution of all things taken away; that if they had ought in reserve, they should produce it, if otherwise, that they would do well to have recourse to their Principals the States of *Suethland* by Letters, wherby they might happily be moved to send them instructions more complying.

*Finall declarations demanded by the Mediators from the Parties.*

Unto the Commissioners of *Poland* it was remonstrated, that albeit the Mediators had duely considered the Supplements delivered unto them, they could not conceive that any good would be effected by them, and therefore if they had ought remaining touching the resignation, that they would entrust them with it, for otherwise there would never be an end of going to and from, which being tedious in it self, they also began to grow weary therof.

The *Suethes* to whom the *French* Ambassador had repaired, replied, that seeing nothing had been, hitherto, offered unto them from the contrary party, they had already enlarged themselves too far by a tender of the restitution of *Prussia*, wherunto they could add nothing: That they wondred much that these and the like things were almost daily required of them, whereas they could not heare of ought from the other side tending toward a Peace: That they sufficiently knew the States of *Suethen* would not be induced to grant any other Commission or Instructions then what they had already: That Parliament could not be called in lesse then foure months, and that some time would be wasted in making a journey into *Suethen*; but that it might so happen, as that their Generall *Jacobus de la Garde* (whom they ere long expected with a Navy) might bring them some further power.

*The Suethes decline to declare further.*

The Commissioners of *Poland* complained, that the Mediators had relinquished the conditions they had tendred; affirming that their King would never be perswaded to a resignation for the restitution of *Prussia* and *Leisland* meerly, neither had they ought

*The Polanders likewise, and give their reasons.*

ought in their Commission more then what they had already declared. To confirm this, they instanced recent examples drawn from the *Turks* and *Russians*. For, said they, albeit their King had in the late Treaty of Peace with the *Muscovite*, renounced his right of former Election to that Empire, which neverthelesse was much weaker then the Hereditary Right he had to *Suetben*, yet he did it not but upon very advantageous conditions, they giving him for the same three great and large Provinces extending to above five hundred miles. That in his late Wars also against the *Turke*, he had shewed himself so resolute as not to yeild to the least disadvantage: that when, beside the Peace, they desired of him some small Gift, not by way of Superiority or Tribute, but in token of Friendship only, he would not condescend therto, but chose rather to wage most cruell Battell; Wherin, to his eternall Fame, being twice Victor, he made Peace with them according to his own desire.

That they might easily therefore conclude, the King of *Poland* would never be induced to renounce his Hereditary right to the Crown and Kingdome of *Suetbland*, for *Prussia* and *Leifland* only, by the restitution wherof no Emolument or compensation was derived to the King and his Family, but only some satisfaction to the Common-wealth of *Poland*. At last, overcome with the earnest perswasions of his Lordship and the Ministers of the States Generall, they did promise to write once more to the King about the resignation; saying, that they expected him to be suddenly at *Thorne*, from whence they might (within three daies) obtain a Cathegorick answer.

*The Suetbes againe incensed.*

All these things, with the resolution of the other party being thoroughly scanned by the Mediators, conclusion was taken, that the Commissioners of *Suetbland*, should be perswaded to meet on the Wednesday next following, against which time the *Polanders* expected a finall answer from the King in point of resignation, no other means appearing to hinder a present dissolution of the Treaty, and yet it was feared the event would not answer their desires. Neverthelesse, his Lordship and the *Hollanders* undertake the Work, relating to the *Suetbes* the answer of the contrary party as sparingly and mincingly as they could: As they had presaged so it fell out, for so soon as these understood that they were again delayed, they interpreted all to be but meer delusions; calling God to witnesse with what candour and sincerity they had hitherto treated. Whereas quite contrary, the adverse party (said they) had used nothing but Subterfuges, not once daigning them an answer which might be so termed.

They complained of perversnesse and arrogancy in their Adversaries, which they affirmed, should not passe unrevenged

ged: saying, that of a certain, they should never obtain that Province of *Prussia* which they had over officiously offered; and concluded that they could not be (in reason) required or desired to meet any more at these Conferences, before the King had declared concerning the point in question: To this their tartness, his Lordship and the Ambassadors of *Holland* replied as became Mediators, by whose dexterous arguments and perswasions the *Suetes* became so tractable, as that they promised (without dissolving the Treaty) to attend the final resolution, touching the resignation, at *Jonas Dorff* their place of residence.

At and the final resolution at their quarters.

The Commissioners of *Poland*, understanding the impatience of the *Suetes*, were moved with indignation, remembering their humanity and moderation used towards them, by waiting a far longer time for their Procuratorials; and entreated the Mediators to afford them a meeting and conference on the 4<sup>th</sup> of that month, at a Village called *Newendorff*. Hereunto the Mediators consented; as having ever shewed themselves ready to contribute their utmost endeavours to advance the publike Interest, which by the six generall meetings past may evidently appear.

A meeting with the Mediators desired by the Poles.

The Mediators (almost tired with daily journeys) enjoyed now some daies of rest, in which time his Lordship and the *Hollanders*, spent part thereof in giving severall audiences to *Speiring* (fore-named) about the Tolls, much alteration and dispute being had about the same, albeit to small effect.

The day prefixed being come, all the Mediators (the *French* excepted) went to *Newendorff*, each being desirous of the Treaties happy progresse whereby the so much desired Pacification might be attained. Being met, they began their conference at the point of the renunciation, that so they might have wherewith to certifie the *Suetes* Commissioners, who impatiently expected the same: thereto they added, that the present Truce being neer expired, and but little of the Treaty as yet concluded, they thought good to advise a prolongation thereof untill the ensuing first of *August*, *September*, *November*; and for the more assurance, a new Instrument to be made; all hostility to be (during the same) forborne on both sides, whereby the Treaty might have a longer course; and (if God so pleased) be brought to a wished Period.

Prolongation of the Truce desired.

The Lords of *Branden* made answer that they had (at length) prevailed so far with their King, in the point of resignation, as he would be content to do it upon certain honourable conditions; whereof the first and chief was, that the *Suetes* should entirely restore all things formerly taken away: that the others might be more easily agreed upon; and that they would refer them to the arbitration of the Mediators: concerning

Result of the Poles desire all.

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the prorogation of the Truce they left it to them also: this declaration was so much the more gratefull as it gave hopes of a successfull renovation of the Treatie.

The French Ambassador with the *Hollanders* repaired to *Jonas dorff* the day following, acquainting the *Suetbes* Commissioners with the declaration made by the *Polanders*, and remonstrated the necessity, of prorogating the Truce; yet albeit nothing could have come more welcome unto them they would not give any answer as then, but promised to send their Subdelegate unto *Marienburg* the next day. And (though not materiall to the present purpose) I shall heare insert, that Mr. *Gordon* the Agent forenamed, took leave of his Lorship and repaired for *England* upon great and weighty occasions.

Prorogation of  
the Truce as-  
sented unto.

Secretarie *Lording*, Subdelegate to the *Suetbes*, being sent to the Mediators, according to promise, told them in the name of his Principalls, that they having heard what the *Polanders* had declared, in reference to the point in question, to the end the Treatie, the greater part whereof was yet unperfect might not be scanted by time, the Truce being neere expired, had consented to the prorogation thereof untill the time motioned, provided that the Commissioners of *Poland* would treat more really in the future. Herewith the *Hollanders* charged themselves to acquaint those of *Poland*, and in the name of all the Mediators to require their consent: Their answer imported, that notwithstanding the prorogation desired would be to their prejudice, yet to shew their desire of a happie end of the matter in agitation and to gratify the Mediators, whose care for the publike appeared in this as in all other passages, they would not refuse the same, but there expect him that should be sent to perfect the instrument thereof.

Purport of the  
Prorogation.

Hereupon two Copies were accordingly, to the Mediators, drawn up, in Substance as followeth. That whereas the late truce for six yeares; between, the high and mighty Princes and States, the Kings and Kingdomes of *Poland* and *Suethe* (or *Viceversa*) was now almost expired; and that the Treatie of Pacification, happily begun, could not in that scantness of time, attaine a wished issue; the Ambassadors of the Mediating Princes and States had thought good to propound to each of the Parties a Prorogation of the said Truce: Whereupon, the foresaid Truce for six yeares remaining in full force and vertue, in all the circumstances and clauses thereof, the Commissioners of either Party had consented, as they doe by these presents consent and agree, unto a prorogation of the said Truce untill the first day of *August*, *September*, *November* next ensuing, that in the meane time, by the intervention and

and industrie of the Mediators, the present Treatie for an entire and perfect Peace might by Gods assistance be happily finished. And it was also hereby enacted that, during the said Prorogation, no acts of hostility should by either of the Parties be used, or permitted to be used, toward the other: for the greater assurance and better observation whereof, the Commissioners deputed from either of the Parties, together with the Mediating Ambassadors, had signed and sealed the same the eighteenth day of June, 1635. The Ambassadors, of the States Generall undertooke the care of sending this instrument to the *Suetbes* (by their Secretary) for Signature; they being still at *Jonas dorff*, who promised to returne it the next day by their Subdelegate in perfect mannner.

Here (by the way) we may touch, that the end of the Sequestrations approaching, certain places of *Prussia*, as *Marienburg*, *Stume*, *Lochstadt*, &c. which had been (during the six yeares Truce) entrusted by way of Sequestration into the hands of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, were to be restored unto the *Suetbes* the 11 June as also the *Memeln* and *Brunsborge*, by them, to his Electorall Highnesse, within three dayes alter: the Marquesse *Sigismund* with the other Electorall Ministers, as also the rest of the Mediators began to consider of some new residence. *Risenberg* a little Towne in *Prussia* (the Ducall) was pitch't upon; whereupon the Marquesse *Sigismund*, taking leave, went thether the same day. Yet here may not be omitted that the Commissioners of *Poland* insisted earnestly against the exchange of Sequestrations, affirming the same to be (*Ipso facto*) a breach of the Treaty, and (as it were) a Summons to the War, if made before the Treaty were finished; and in their favour the Mediators, chiefly his Lordship endeavoured what they could, yet could not perswade the *Suetbes* to hearken therunto. But let us return to that from whence we have digressed.

*Continuation of  
Sequestrations  
insisted on by the  
Poles; but re-  
fused by the  
Suetbes.*

Whilest the Mediators expect the Subdelegate from the *Suetbes*, they send the other Copy of the Instrument of Prorogation by the foresaid Secretary unto the Commissiones of *Poland*, to be by them signed and sealed, which was done without delay: In the *Interim*, Secretary *Lording* came to *Marienburg* with a new form of Prorogation, which not being (conform to the other Copy) drawn in manner of a Patent; nor the full time of the Prorogation unto the first of *August* inserted; as also that the Subscription of Count *Brabe* alone did not correspond to the plurall number of Commissioners mentioned in the beginning and middle of the said Instrument; it was rejected, and the foresaid Secretary of the *Hollanders*, returning with full satisfaction from those of *Poland*, who were to begin their journey toward their King (then at *Thorne*) the  
next

The Prerogative  
on signed.

next day early, he was sent to *Elbing*, to acquaint the *Suetbes* therewith, and to move them to subscribe the Instrument drawn by the Mediators, which at last they did.

The Mediators  
repair to the  
King.

This *Remora* removed, the Mediators also repaired towards *Thoronia*, a faire City belonging to the *French*, and the States Ambassadors not having as yet saluted his Majesty They with the Electorals were honourably and magnificently received, each severally, according to their Dignities, his Lordship also, by young Prince *Radzwill*, great Chamberlain of *Lithuania*, and Baron *Gildenstierne*, was received in the Kings Coach; many others attending with a great Troop of the *Polish* Nobility on Horse-back, and so conveyed to his lodging not far from that where the King then lay.

Their overtures  
ineffectuall.

The Mediators in their particular audiences declared the true State of the Treaty, and that without absolute resignation, all hopes of Peace were desperate, neither was any argument left unused, whereby something might be gathered from the Kings own mouth, or be moved to afford his Commissioners more ample Instructions: But to a Courageous and a Victorious Prince, such Solicitations being disrellishing, they were also ineffectuall. Wherefore the usuall Visites and Complements being added, the main conclusion was, that the meetings, at the fore-specified place and time, should be again resumed.

His Lordship having taken leave of the King by a private Audience, set forwards with the *Hollanders* towards *Risenberg*. The *French* Ambassador doing the like, as also the *Brandenburgers* about two daies after. The Mediators being now altogether, and understanding that the Commissioners of *Poland* were likewise returned to *Marienwerder*, the Marquis *Sigismund*, as nearest concerned, undertook to invite (by Letters) the *Suetbes* to meet again, on Munday the 29. June, at a Village nam'd

*Honigsfeldt*, equidistant from *Marienbourg*, *Risenberg*, and *Jonas Dorff*: but sundry of those Commissioners being gone to the *Pillaw* to receive the Generall *Jacobus de la Garde*, who was newly arrived from *Suetbland* with a Navy and an Army, the meeting was thereby retarded: The *French* Ambassador signified the same to those of *Poland*, who to gain time, Duke *Radzwill* now hastning his journey towards *Littaw*, to make provision for the War in case it should so fall out, desired a conference at a Village nam'd *Leitznam*, where a *Polish* Gentleman had a house fit to receive them. Being met, the *Polanders* were urged (by the Mediators jointly) by all fair persuasions, to declare in a word their Kings sinall resolution, touching the resignation, it being to be feared that if the last former condition, which mentioned the restitution entire of *Prussia* and

The Poles de-  
clare a meeting  
with the Ale-  
mands.

Declaration ut-  
ter'd.

and *Leifland*, for the said resignation, were still insisted on, the first meeting would be the last.

The Commissioners of *Poland* having retired themselves about an hour, returned and sayd, they wondered much to heare the Mediators desire of them a more full Declaration: that themselves stood firme to the former, and that *Prussia* and *Liefland* should not onely be absolutely restored, but that the Laws also made in *Suetben* against King *Sigismund* and his Heirs should be utterly abolished, and satisfaction made to the King out of the Provinces of *Suetland*, all which things they urged, as *Sine quibus non*: The other conditions, as restoring of Ships, Ordnance, and exiled persons, would be more easily reconciled: Whereunto the French Ambassâdor made answer, in the name of his Colleagues, that apparently (upon these termes) Peace was rather to be despaired of, then hoped for, and to use his own words, *Se de pace perpetua tantum desperare, quantum hodie Cælum cum terra coitutum videatur*; That things being so, they should do well to convert their thoughts to the sole remaining refuge, to wit, a longer Truce.

*Ultimate result of the Polishers.*

*Treaty for small Peace in termes desperate.*

This reply was but little to the Commissioners of *Poland*, who affirmed they had no Commission to treat of longer Truce, which was not to be mentioned untill hopes of Peace were utterly extinct, and that albeit such a Treatie should follow, yet could not they condescend to any other conditions. Yet (said they) it will not be amiss to found the *Suetbes* once more before things were quite despaired of: which was concluded on by all parties.

After the generall conference ended, the Chancellor *Zadzick* complained, that the former six yeares Truce had been sundry times broken by the *Suetbes*, but that, unwilling to trouble the Mediators with repetition of particulars, they would onely insist upon one, which being of late might prove their allegation; and that was, the taking of a Shipp but the day before (wherin was a publike Minister, named *Forbas*, sent by their King to the King of *Denmarke*) by the Shippes of *Suetben*, guarding the Tolls, which had seized the same coming out of the Port of *Dantzic*; and had not onely examined, but contrary to the Law of Nations (that allowes to such free egress and regress) had also detained the same, which was not onely injurious to them, but likewise a disrespect to the authority due to the Mediators and their Principalls, in whose favour the prorogation had been granted. That he therefore earnestly desired them to put the adverse partie in mind of their articles and promised faith, and that they would forbear such hostilities, unlesse they would constraine them to a requitall and repulsion of injury with injury, as conso-

*Complaints of the Poles.*

D. Radzivils  
departure for  
Littaw.

nant to the rules and law of Nature. Herin, the Mediators promised their utmost favour and assistance, and so, taking leave of them all, but particularly of Duke Radzivil, who was to begin his journey (for Littaw) the day following, they returned to Risenberg.

A longer Truce  
insisted on.

About two dayes after, his Lordship being informed of the returne of the *Suetes* to *Marienbourg*, went thither, and during three hours stay, used all the arguments he could for concluding the Peace: but at the naming of *Leissland* the Commissioners of *Sueten* became more fierce than at any time formerly, and the Treatie appeared plainly to be in *Terminis Desperatis*. Neither could the other Ambassadors prevaile any further with them; so as nothing now remained save the hopes the Mediators had of effecting a longer Truce: to which end the Ambassador of great *Brittain* sent unto them the day following shewing that no other refuge being left, he desired they would freely communicate with him about a longer Truce, that he might accordingly deale with the *Polanders*, whom he intended to visite about the same, at *Marien Werder* that afternoon: that, unlesse they had rather make choice of warre, this was the best advice he could now give them, whereunto, if they so pleased, he would contribute his best endeavours: but if otherwise, and that they did not approve therof, he should be forced (by taking leave) to put a period to the Treaty.

The Suetes  
Declaration in  
point of longer  
Truce.

They after long deliberation, sent *Lording* their Secretary to his Lordship with their resolution, which imported, That the King of *Polands* Titles pretended to the Crown of *Sueten*, as also to *Leissland*, remaining in the same state they were at present, they would admit of a Truce so it might be for a long time, to wit, an hundred years, and that they would therupon restore *Prussia* entirely; with which Declaration his Lordship repaired to *Marienwerder*, informing the Chancellour therof the same night, as the next day he did the other *Polanders*, who albeit they shewed by many reasons that a Truce was much prejudiciall unto them, said nevertheless that they would write to their King touching the same.

The Poles ye  
fer to the King.

It is not to be here omitted that amongst other arguments used by his Lordship, shewing the difficulty of regaining *Prussia* by War; One was, that so long as the *Suetes* were strongest by Sea, they would be hardly beaten out of it, and that they suspected nor feared none but the King his Master: but what (said he) if he should be otherwise engaged, all his Neighbour Princes being then in Armes: or if that were not, and that they might assure themselves of any assistance they should desire, he then demanded, where they would assign a Port capable of receiving our Ships, in case the Adverse Party

Argument used  
by his Lordship.

(as

(as was suspected) would not restore *Memeln*, for (said he) to send a Fleet without assurance of convenient harbour, which those parts scarcely afforded for Ships of the burthen of ours, would endanger both Ships and men, and yet not avails those in whose assistance they were sent: and certaine of their Cavaliers making great vaunts, his Lordship instanced the example of the Low Countries; and how difficult a matter it was to overcome and expell an enemy who kept himselfe only upon the defensive.

I have set downe this discourse, because these arguments used by his Lordship to mollifie the minds of the Parties, proved the seed-plot of those future discontents which happened between his Lordship and them of *Poland*; for some, there present, did relate those arguments to his Majesty of *Poland*, but in farr other sense (as appeared afterw<sup>rd</sup> by a Letter from a great Personage amongst them who taxed his Lordship) as if he had deprived them of hope of any assistance from *England*, albeit need should require; and had affirmed that the King his Master had particular occasion for his Ships and Forces; and that he had also detracted from their Armes, which so moved the King as he sent one of trust about his Person to the Commissioners, for certaine information: what satisfaction he received is uncertaine, but his Lordship (having notice thereof) endeavoured, not long after, in a conference with the King, to clear himselfe of those imputations, wherewith his Majesty seemed satisfied; howbeit more coldnesse was afterwards seen in the countenance of his Commissioners; which, as he knew no cause for, so, he could not but resent, as he did in his answer to the forespecified Letter, wherein he touched that the sincerity of his proceedings had not found deserved acceptance, and that the adverse Party, albeit more often and vehemently contradicted (yea menaced with the displeasure of the King his Master if they should not condescend to equall conditions, the argument of assistance with his Fleet having been a more powerfull one to them then all the consideration of the *Polish* Forces) yet they were so generously respective toward the truth as to acknowledge that what he so urged, proceeded onely from his earnest desire of effecting that whereunto he was there employed, for the advancement whereof, he spared not to use to either side, the most forcible arguments that his judgment could suggest unto him. But I returne to that from which I have digressed.

The prementioned delatory answer had so moved the *Suethes* as they talked of nothing save a present departure, and a most just War whereby to requite the contempts and delusions (as they called them) of the *Polanders*, committing their cause

to

*Misconstrued.*
*The Suethes gain in heat.*

to the Divine Justice; his Lordship who had imparted the same, having lost his labour, certified those of *Poland* thereof by an expresse, who in their answer protested their own sincerity, and accused the obltinacy and arrogancy of their Adversaries, alledging that in duty it behoved them to acquaint their King with this new proposition of a Truce, whose mind therein they expected by Saturday following, the  $\frac{21}{22}$  July, which having received, they would immediatly communicate unto the Mediators, and that done, they would also be ready to depart. They likewise recommended again to his Lordship their Ship detained (as aforesaid) in the Rode of *Dantzic*. These things being shewed to the *Suetes* they (changing their minds) were contented to expect the Kings answer, untill the Sunday next, saying withall, that if any of them should go to *Elbing* in the interim, they would return by the day prefixed.

Yet calmed and contented so meet.

The  $\frac{22}{23}$  July, the electoral Ministers, whom the Marquis *Sigismund* had imployed to *Marienwerder* came to *Marienburg* (whither the Mediators were now returned) bringing the Kings Declaration concerning the Truce propounded, which was to this effect,

The Kings condescension to a Treaty for Truce.

That albeit he rather inclined to a perpetuall Peace, yet to shew his desire to Concord he would condescend to a Truce, so it were for ten, at most for fifteen years, reserving unto himself a part of *Leisland* by the River *Dyna*. Hereunto the *Suetes* would not consent, nor to any Truce, but with these three inseparable Conditions.

Conditions of Truce propounded by the *Suetes*.

- 1: The time to be for fifty years.
2. The King of *Poland* to forbear (during the same) the Title of King of *Suetland*.
3. A sum of money to be given unto them for the transporting of their Army: These Conditions seeming intolerable, the Mediators vehemently contradicted them, but finding the *Suetes* unmovable, they judged this Treaty for a longer Truce to be likewise in desperate terms, and the rather because the *Suetes*, taking leave at the same instant, retired to *Elbing*.

New difficulty.

About three daies after, his Lordship with the States Ambassadors repaired to *Elbing* to salute the (newly arrived) Generall, *Jacobus de la Garde*, as also to confer about the Treaty and about the Tolls: They met with the French Ambassador returning thence, who shewed them what new, and not small difficulty he fore-saw about the Title of *Sueten*, which was wholly to be omitted of the *Polish* side, or that otherwise there could be no Treaty, and that he was then meditating upon a journey to the King about the same.

Obviated.

Herein his Lordship gave a short but very sound advice, saying, that the King of *Polands* Title in things relating to *Suetland*

*Suethland* might be concealed under an *&c. &c.* wherby the same was neither totally excluded nor included. This counsell was pleasing both to the *French* and *Hollanders*, wherwith they parted.

Being entred the Town, his Lordship visited the Generall, and ceremonials being ended, they had a long conference about the fore-passed Negotiation of perpetuall Peace, and of the longer Truce in present agitation, as also about the disorders and exactions used in the Tolls. The States Ambassadors then (also) entering, they unanimously require a longer prorogation of the Truce current: Afterwards his Lordship propounded the Mean of abbreviation about the Title by an *&c. &c.* as above said, and as the main of all, he desired that the number of years might be reduced to thirty, which yet he thought that those of *Poland* would not, or hardly consent unto; neither within the memory of man, could the example of any Truce be produced, exceeding thirty years.

*Conference with the Generall de la Garde.*

With exceeding humanity and courtesie did the Generall *De la Garde* reply to the Mediators, assuring them that so far as his authority or power could extend, he would endeavour and employ the same for Peace and the publike good, and said, that to the same end he would confer with the Commissioners that very day, and certifie the Mediators of their resolution, early the next morning by the Commissary *Nicodemie*. Whilest there, his Lordship received Letters by an expresse from the Commissioners of *Poland*, containing that moved with the arrogancy of the Adverse Party, who (as they understood) were retired to *Elbing*, they were now ready to depart likewise, committing their cause to the Supream Judge who abaseth the proud, not doubting withall but that his Majesty of *Poland*, who desired but could not obtain an equall Peace, being forced to take up just Armes, should prosper victoriously: Withall they rendred thanks to the Mediators for their unwearied pains, wherby they had obliged the King, the Commonwealth, and themselves in particular; and (by way of Postscript) desired that their Procuratorials might be restored unto them.

*His reply.*

*The Poles relative discontented.*

The *French* Ambassador received the like Letters at *Marienburg*, wherwith he (being troubled) acquainted *De la Garde* by an expresse, that so the *Suethes* informed of the resolution of the *Polanders* might obviate the same in time. The communication therof served (probably) to bring the *Suethes* to milder termes, for the next day, they declared to his Lordship and the *Hollanders*, that they were contented to make Truce for forty years, and absolutely to restore *Prussia*: *Leifland* they would wholly retain, as having wonne it by the Sword; withall, that the King of *Poland* must forbear the Title of *Suethen*,

*The Suethes more complying.*

*Their conditions for treaty of Truce.*

A a a

that

Cessation of  
Armes prolong-  
ed.

that in order therunto they would prolong the cessation of Armes untill the fifth of *August*, in which time the Mediators might, if they thought good, repair to, and return from *Thorne*.

Consented unto  
by the Polan-  
ders.

The Mediators  
consult with the  
King and Sena-  
tors of Poland  
upon fifteen  
heads.

Herewith his Lordship and the *Hollanders* returning to *Marienburg*, set forth the day ensuing for *Thoronia*, whither the *French* Ambassador was gone before; the day of their arrival all the Mediators had successive audience, and joyntly pressing and obtaining the Suspension accorded by the *Suetbes*, they certifie them therof by Letters, referring the rest to relation.

The next day all the Mediators, together with the Commissioners and certain of the principall Senators of *Poland*, assembled before the King, to receive the last resolve, which after long dispute the Parties and Mediators concurring, was dilated unto these heads.

1. That the Truce should continue for twenty years.
2. That entire restitution should be made to the King and Kingdome of *Poland*, as also to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, Duke in *Prussia*, of all places that had been taken in *Prussia* by the *Suetbes*, in the same State they now are, with the Ordinance, and all other things belonging to the Crown of *Poland*, as Church Ornaments, Bells, &c.
3. That neither at nor before departure ought should be exacted or taken away from the Inhabitants, nor they to be burthened publicely, or privately.
4. That during the Truce the *Suetbes* should possesse all the places they now hold in *Letsland*; yet so, that the River *Ewest* should separate what belonged to *Poland* and to *Suetben*, and should include one Castle (now not inhabited) named *Marienhaus*.
5. That all Rights and Priviledges appertaining to Cities, Colledges, or private persons, should remain entire.
6. That the Titles of either party should be couched in all Instruments, *Vladislaws 4. Rex Polina*, *Magnus Dux Lith. &c.* &c. and *Christina Regina Suecia*, *Magna Princeps Finlandie*, &c.
7. The Customes and commerce in *Prussia* should return to the same state they were in before the War.
8. A generall Amestia.
9. The Ship lately detained in the road of *Dantzic* should be restored.
10. Exercise of Religion to remain in the state it was before.
11. That during the Truce, and within two or three years at the furthest, a perpetual Peace should in the Parliament of either side be treated of, the Truce remaining still unviolated.
12. That

12. That a time and manner should be settled for deduction of the Armies.

13. That the Tolls in *Leisland* should be moderated and reduced to what they formerly had been.

14. That the administration of Justice in the Confines of *Lithuania* and *Leisland*, and of those parts of *Leisland* belonging to *Poland*, to be as before.

15. That Security should be given as well by the King as by the States of *Poland* and great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, as also by the Elector of *Brandenburg*, with the Cities of *Dantzic* and *Conigsberg*, that during the Truce they should not permit any Ships to issue out of those Ports to prejudice or endamage the Kingdome of *Suetben*, neither should they either by themselves or others attempt ought in prejudice of the present Treaty.

Almost to this effect were the Conditions propounded by the *Hollanders*, with addition, that for the better settling of firm friendship and confidence between the two Kingdomes, and for a sure ground-work to a perpetuall Peace, an equall and honourable Marriage should be thought of for the King of *Poland*, which in their opinion could not be in a more Illustrious and Royall Family, then if contracted with the eldest Daughter of the late Prince *Frederick* King of *Bohemia*, Elector Palatine of *Rhine*; that Family being so Illustrated by Antiquity, Dignity, Nobility, and Princelyalliances within and without the *Romane* Empire, as none other could be preferred before it: From which and the Marriage of Queen *Christina* with some Prince of the same Family, Children might proceed, by whose future Conjunctions the two Kingdomes might be joyned in assured friendship as before, and the said Marriage might likewise produce other great advantages by reason of the affinity and alliance with other Kings and Princes, by whom the differences and difficulties occurring from either or both the Kingdomes internally or externally might be in time remedied.

*Addition made by the Hollanders.*

With the conditions, aforesaid, which were admitted by the King of *Poland*, the Mediators made their repaire to *Marienburg*; his Lordship reparing withall to *Elbing*, whence after severall conferences upon the sayd heads with Generall *De la Garde* and the Commissioners, they all determined to returne to *Marienburg*, where the Mediators and the sayd Commissioners being assembled, the fifteen conditions forementioned (whereby the King of *Poland* might probably be perswaded to a truce) were produced, whereupon they being many, the *Suetbes* desired respit for consultation untill the day following, which was granted: the houre being come, and all parties convened, the *Suetbes* exceptions to those Articles were.

1. That

The result of  
the Suethe  
upon the former  
heads.

1. That touching the terme of Truce they could not accept thereof for lesse then thirty five years, and that by their Instructions they were precisely tyed to forty, that nevertheless they retracted five by the approbation and permission of the Generall, whose authority, chiefly in Military affaires, was of great consideration in the Kingdome of Suetland.

2. That the title of the Queen of Suetben should be expressed in manner following, *Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regina & Princeps hereditaria, Magna Princeps Finlandie*, forasmuch as they could by no means give way, that the Hereditary right of their Queen, most justly acquired, should be obscured or overslipt, much lesse be taken away.

Cessation conditionall.

3. That a considerable sum of money was to be given for the deduction of their Forces: That these three points being consented unto, the others might be treated on, and happily concluded; withall that if the prorogation of the Truce, which the Mediators desired, were to be continued for eight dayes longer, these three Articles by them expressed, were first to be agreed unto by the *Polanders*.

The King's  
reply.

The Mediators upon this answer take journey for *Crowdentz* (a Towne of *Prussia*) where the King with his Army had (as then) pitched his Tents. The next morning early, at the Chancellours lodging, the Commissioners being present, with severall Palatines and Senators, consultation was held concerning the particulars propounded from the *Suetbes*: in the afternoon, all the Mediators had audience together in the Castle of *Crowdentz*, the chiefe of the Nobility being present, the dispute continued from three untill ten at night. The terme of years, after long controverting, was specified to be twenty five; but the Title of Hereditary Princeesse, and the money demanded for deduction of the Army were absolutely denied; the first, as prejudiciall to the King; the other, as dishonourable to them.

The Suethe  
reply, more mild  
then expected.

These things being afterwards delivered to the Commissioners of *Suetben*, they crave liberty of deliberation untill the next day, and promise a timely answer, which to hasten the more, the Mediators repaire to them into *Marienburg* Castle, where they declare that they could not admit of lesse then thirty years, and that they would not abate a day, that in due regard to the advice of the Mediators, they were contented that the title of Hereditary Princeps should be included under an *&c.* That concerning the Money demanded, they sought it not directly from the King, but to them it was alike whether it came from the Tolls or otherwise.

The Mediators  
return to the  
King: Audience  
appointed in the  
Camp.

With this resolution, indeed more mild then was expected, the Mediators returned toward *Crowdentz*; where the King being busied about wighty affaires, their Audience was deferred

deferred untill the next day, and appointed to be in the Camp, the King having resolved to take a generall view of his Army, and was not unwilling that the Mediators should have a sight therof.

The Army (Horse and Foot) being drawn into order, the first that presented was the Infantry, the greater part wherof was Natives, commonly called *Heydukes*, a people inured to hardship, strong and able bodies, but not much accustomed to Discipline, some companies of strangers, various but not many. The Horse consisted for the most part of *Lancers*, known there by the appellation of *Hussars*; braver men for personage, better Horfed, nor more superbly Armed, can hardly be seen elsewhere: consisting wholly of their Gentry, yet their Vassals not more to them then they to their Captains obedient, howbeit elsewhere they account themselves their equals: Their Armour rich and glistening with Gold and Silver, the better sort wearing over it loose Mantles of Sables, black Foxes, Banthers, and Leopards Skins; the Furniture of their Horses answerable and garnished with rich Stones, which by the Horses motion make a pleasant terrour. They are a Courageous people, most violent in a charge, but once broken not easily rallying, yet against the *Turk* and *Tartarian*, the Bulwark of *Christendome* on that side, over whom (as formerly alledged by the Chancellour) King *Vladislaus* had lately gained two famous Battels, and had it not been for the difference ready to break out between them and the *Suetbes* (as their Generall himself at a Conference delivered to his Lordship) they might have driven the *Turke* back to the very Gates of *Constantinople*.

*A view of the  
Polish Army.*

*Its constitution.*

*Discipline.*

*Habiliments.*

A sadnesse it is, and sorely to be lamented, that the discords between Christian Princes, who professe one God one Christ, should make them more intensive against each other then against the professed Enemy of that blessed name, wherunto they all professe their Baptization.

They were esteemed to be fifteen thousand Horse *Effective*, but by themselves reputed more, their Foot in all not exceeding six thousand. After this (and indeed delectable) shew ended, the King gave audience to all the Mediators joyntly: concerning the years, he would not add a day to the terme he had formerly prefixed: Nor did the other particulars propounded give him any satisfaction, so as he seemed enclining rather to War then Peace.

*The King incli-  
ning to War.*

The day following his Lordship remained behind, the other Mediators returned to *Murienburg*, and related the Kings resolution to the *Suetbes*, who replied, that for so small a matter as five years of time, they did not conceive that either their principals, or the Adversaries, who stuck mainly therat, did in-

B b b

tend

The Suetes  
not averse to  
Peace.

tend to broach a bloody War; for the prevention whereof they would by severall waies dispatch two expressees into *Sueten*, and that they might expect an answer within three weeks, during which time the Truce might be continued, and in the *interim*, the other Articles might be discussed: but if this were not approved, they (having no power to exceed their Instructions) could not proceed, unlesse that being by the Mediators secured of the concession of the other Articles by the *Polanders*. and the Truce continued for eight daies longer, they might therby take the point into further consideration.

Cessation prorogued eight daies

These being related to the King in his Camp were not unpleasing; and besides the eight daies of Prorogation, a meeting was granted at *Stumes Dorff* the 4<sup>th</sup> *August*, provided the Garrison of *Suetes* (then at *Stum*) were removed.

A meeting consented unto.

The Mediators, except the *French* who remained in the League, returning back to *Marienburg*, acquainted the *Suetes*, (who by a visite prevented his Lordship) with what they had concluded: they willingly assented to the Prorogation and to the pre-appointed meeting which was to be the day insuing, as also they restrained the Garrison at *Stume*, by shutting up the Gates without any tumult or disorder.

Competition between the *Hollanders* and those of *Brandenburg*.

Thus, by the unwearied endeavours, and not without the exceeding toile of the Mediators by frequent journey's between the Parties, the long intermitted meetings were resumed the 7<sup>th</sup> *August* at *Stumbisdorff* forenamed; where, at the first, a new difference arose, between the States Ambassadors and those of *Brandenburg*, the former (not willing to give the others the least precedencie) refusing to come into the tent of the Marquesse *Sigismund*, which in all former meetings had been the place of the Mediators joynt resort and consultation.

Articles of the whole treatie exhibited by the *Suetes*.

The other Mediators, unwilling to make this competitionarie controversie theirs; than which, nothing could be more impeding to the present affaire, and desirous to make the best use of time, proceeded unto the matter before them, concluding that the fore-specified conditions should be indifferently propounded to either of the Parties, whereby each might the better explaine themselves by adding or diminishing what they should think meete: his Lordship went to the *Suetes*; the *French* and *Brandenburgers* to the Commissioners of *Poland*: the former consented to most of the propositions rendred unto them, but thought them to be over-breife and succinctly drawn; and therefore, for the more plaine understanding, they delivered to his Lordship the whole matter of the Treatie comprehended in sundry Articles, wherewith he presently repaired to the *Polanders*; and

and which, the *French* Ambassador and the Electoralls being present, were instantly quoted with Marginall notes of such things as they either rejected or added, or substituted in the place of others: and having done, they referred the whole to the Kings pleasure, consenting to meete againe upon the second day ensuing. and the Marginall Annotations being communicated to the *Sueths*, and over-long to be then examined, were also by them deferred to the said meeting. One particular was, by the last named, recommended to the Mediators in especiall manner, to be insinuated unto the other Partie; to wit, that a Parliamentarie ratification of what should be finally concluded, might be procured from the Republike of *Poland*, as without which the Treatie would be invalid. Hereupon the Mediators and the Parties returned to their severall quarters.

*Referred to the King by the Poles.*

*Necessarie caution.*

Upon the day of intervall his Lordship visited the *Sueths*, and consulted with them how to compound the competition between the Electorall and States Ambassadors, that the publike Treatie might thereby receive no let nor hinderance; at last it was concluded that besides the Prince his Tent, another should be pitch't, the choice whereof should be given to the *Holandrs*, whereunto, his Lordship and the Commissioners of *Suetland*, by an expresse visite that afternoon, perswaded them to condescend.

*Former competition removed.*

The Mediators and the Parties assembled now the second time, and the most urgent point of the Treatie consisting in the desired ratification, the Mediators conceived it meete to clear that rub, the rather, in that the *Sueths* mainly insisted, that without the same all the Treatie and labour employed therein would be of no availe, because a meanes of retracting therefrom would be remayning to the *Polanders*; These, on the other side demonstrated the impossibilitie thereof, in as much as a Parliament could not be called and held in lesse than four moneths; affirming withall, that the Kings ratification, with theirs and that of the Senators placed by Parliament about the King, in the name of the Republike, would be sufficient, they having from the same a full and absolute power of treating and concluding. That in the mean time *Prussia* should be restored; and then a Parliament, for obtaining the ratification from the States of the Kingdome, might be held in convenient time: But the *Sueths* being herewith not satisfied, and it being impossible for the *Polanders* to give any other present security, the Mediators endeavoured by all meanes to remove this obstacle also, and propounded, that first, the forces of each side should be dismissed; and next, that such places as the parties of either side should agree upon might be, by way of Sequestration, consigned into the

*Parliaments ratification insisted upon by the Sueths.*

*Polish reply.*

*Sequestration of places propounded by the Mediators.*

Sequestration of  
places propounded  
by the Mediators:

Mediators hands untill the ratification were procured; as also, that Pledges might be given, and the like: Which propositions, albeit they sounded harsh to either party, yet no other Medium being found for the present, the *Polanders*, at their generall desire, condescended to refer all unto the King and to meet there againe upon the third day following, wherunto the *Suetbes* did in like manner give their consent.

The *Suetbes*  
persist.

The day following, the *French* Ambassador, solicitous of his Masters particular affaires, and how to divert a greater Warr from themselves, visited the *Suetbes* with whom he laboured from noon untill night by arguments, exhortations, and entreaties, to yeild either to a Sequestration of places, or to the giving and accepting of Pledges, but in vaine, and in stead of a simple deniall received an answer of a harsher strain, *Viz.* That they retaining *Elbing* and the *Pillaw*, with the Fort on the River *Vistula*, untill the ratification should be gotten, would restore *Marienburg* and *Stume* to the *Polander*, conditionally that something equivalent alluding to the *Memeln*, were delivered unto them.

Their reasons.

The appointed day for the third Congress being come, and all parties being met, at *Stumpf-dorff*, his Lordship went with the *Hollanders* towards the *Suetbes*, the *French* Ambassador, and *Brandenburgers* doing the like to them of *Poland*. The *Suetbes* constantly urged and maintained the necessity of the Parliamentary ratification; for (said they) if so be that one onely City, Town, or Castle, is not wont to be delivered over by a Commander without sufficient preceding Provision for his Honour and the Garrisons safety, much more was the Honour and Dignity of their Queen to be regarded in the restoration of an entire Province: and if so be the *Polanders* before the said ratification, would have ought, as *Marienburg* and *Stume* delivered unto them, something equi-polent therunto, as the *Memeln* they also expected.

Impossibility al-  
leged by the  
Poles.

On the other side, the *Polish* Commissioners swarve not one jot from their former allegation, to wit, impossibility, wherunto (said they) none can be bound: neither would they consent to the division of places made by the *Suetbes*, much lesse leave the *Pillaw* in their hands, which as a most commodious Port, would be no lesse prejudiciall to them then advantageous to the other side, as from whence a departure might be faigned, and a return made at pleasure to their detriment and dishonour; and that it stood with reason and equity, that seeing the *Suetbes* would neither trust them nor their King, themselves also were not to be trusted.

The Mediators hereupon deliberated amongst themselves of the means of preventing a Rupture by this dissonance of the parties, but could not find any on the sudden, and the *Polanders*

ders were said to be preparing to be gone, when his Lordship, very opportunely propounded that the parties should be moved to refer unto the arbitration of the Mediators, the two main points in question; to wit, the Parliamentary ratification, and the number of years, and concerning those to stand to their decision: this was generally approved, and the *French* Ambassador with the *Electors* repaired therewith to the *Suetes*, his Lordship and the *Hollanders* doing the like to them of *Poland*, who were upon the point of taking horse: The Commissioners of *Poland*, the Chancellor chiefly made no difficulty of assenting to the Medium of Arbitration, but for one scruple, which was, that their King having limited the number of years, they had no further power of concession therof, and that it must be referred to himself, of whose consent they were not dissident, and so they onely agreed to a prorogation of the Truce for two daies longer: The *French* Ambassador and the *Brandenburgers* returning from the *Suetes*, related that their consent unto the arbitration was (in a manner) obtained, and urged them to assent thereto likewise, they having oft-times formerly proffered the same in things of greater moment: but more then hath been already said could not be gained from them; they onely intreated that the Mediators would be pleased to repair to the King the day following (he being then in his Camp at *Rottenhoff* neer the *Wisle*) and use their joynt perswasions. This, the Mediators agreed unto.

Seasonable proposition.

Assented unto by the Suetes

waived by the Poles.

They being come thither had audience altogether in the Regall Tent, but found themselves far short of their conceived hopes, of gaining the prementioned differences, about the ratification and terme of years to be referred to the Mediatoriall arbitration, wherto the *Suetes* had already accorded: for the King of *Poland* would not (by any reasons alledged) be induced thereunto, and but with difficulty consented to the continuance of the cessation agreed upon, so stiffe did he then shew himselfe: His Lordship argued the matter so farr as his Legatoriall Office would permit, and seemed to wonder that his Majesty of *Poland* should now reject the Medium of Arbitration, when the *Suetes*, who before had alwayes refused the same, were brought thereunto, it having been frequently offered by his Commissioners; but the King would give no eare, neither to these nor any other perswasions, used either by his Lordship or the *Hollanders* to that effect; so as in the space of foure houres of the conference, nothing was obtained save that the King would put the whole Treaty to be compounded by just and equitable meanes, at the meeting (to be) the day following; wherevnto the *French* Ambassador invited the *Suetes* by Letter, his Lordship having refused that Office, as foreseeing they would not come.

The King of Poland averse to the propositions

The Suetes  
excuse their not  
appearing.

Complain of  
the Polanders.

The Suetes  
reply, and

Compliance.

both parties  
diff.

All the Mediators, with the Commissioners of *Poland*, were convened at the accustomed place, and waited for the *Suetes* untill two in the afternoon, about which houre, Baron D' *Avacourt* (the French Resident in those parts) who by that Ambassador had been sent to hasten them, came with their Letters excusatory, that the shortnesse of the time and absence of some of their Colleagues permitted them not to be present at that meeting, but that they would not faile to be there the day following, if it would so please the Mediators and the adverse Party. The Commissioners of *Poland* being advertised hereof would not (after long consultation) consent unto the meeting, unless they were secured that two large Boats taken from them, contrary to the cessation of armes current, by the adverse Party who kept the Fort in the *Wisle*, should be restored unto them; and the other Mediators staying still at *Stumbsdorff*, his Lordship and the *Hollanders*, taking that businesse upon them, returned to *Marienburg*, where they urged the matter, and as relative thereunto, moved in behalfe of those that were sick in the Ship detained in the Road of *Dantzic*, and last, propounded the next dayes meeting: to these particulars, the *Suetes* made answer, That touching the Boats then mentioned, they had purposely intercepted them, to hinder the laying of a Bridge before their eyes to their exceeding prejudice; Naturall reason allowing to repay acts of hostility with the like: that neverthelesse to gratifie the Mediators they would return them as also recommend to the Officers in their Navy, the free egress of them that were sick in the said Ship, that so the Treaty, for things of so small moment, might not by them be hindred; and that albeit they had not received hitherto from the Commissioners of *Poland* any certain resolution, and therefore could not expect much good by the next daies meeting, they would neverthelesse be present therat: This his Lordship signified in writing to the Commissioners of *Poland*, and requested from the Palatine of *Belzer*, a larger Tent, wherein the parties and the Mediators might assemble together.

His Lordship with the *Hollanders* prepared for the fourth meeting, so much the more early, to take order for placing the Mediatoriall Tent in equall distance from those of the severall parties, and for the bringing of theirs neerer to ease the Mediators of part of their trouble. These things set in order, the Mediators concluded that to either party should be reiterated the Arbitration of the aforesaid differences by the Mediators. Those of *Poland*, to whom his Lordship and the *Hollanders* had applied themselves, absolutely refused the same, and the *Suetes* appeared to the *French*, and the Electorals lesse inclining therto then before, and thus the Treaty seemed to hang by

by a small twist: which caused the Mediators to labour so much the more earnestly with the severall parties. The *Polanders* professed themselves willing to hearken to equall conditions if they were propounded; neither was there any means left for compounding the difference of the Parliamentary ratification, save onely an equall division of the places that were to be restored or kept: and at last not without the uncessant trouble of the Mediators in goings between, they condescended unto these Conditions.

1. That the Truce should be for twenty six years; the *Suetbes* requiring that one year should be added by way of compensation for their consent to the restoring of one halfe of *Prussia*, without the strickt necessary form of Parliamentary ratification, whereof the *Polanders* gave no positive assurance, but promised their endeavours for its procurement, the *French* Ambassador offering also to repaire to the King about the same.

2. That upon the Regall and Senatoriall Commissioners ratification onely (untill that of the Republike might be had) the *Suetbes* should forthwith restore *Marienburg*, *Stume*, *Braun-berge* and *Tolkemyth*, with the greater Island and the Territories to each of them belonging; and that *Ebing*, the *Pillaw*, with the lesser Island and their Territories should still be retained by them. Mutuall concessions.

3. That the Fort made in the *Wistle* by the *Suetbes*, and the Fortifications made on the bord therof by those of *Dantzic* should be demolished; hereupon the cessation was prolonged for four daies. Cessation for foure daies.

Thus at last the avernesse of the parties admitted of shews of reconcilement, and by how much the Treaty had seemed neer to vanish into nothing, by so much the hopes of its happy issue began to beam forth more bright; wherunto the Mediators thought it might be conducible that the parties accompanied by them as at the first, should re-salute each other in the midst of the Village; that so by a publike contest for Peace and Concord by mutuall interviews, the wished end might be the more easily attained: neither was the motion displeasing to either of the parties, who now seemed equally desirous of Peace: This Ceremony being performed, the Mediators and the parties take leave of each other; and the vulgar not containing their contentment, published the Peace as if already concluded.

Second interview of the Parties.

In the mean time, the *French* Ambassador obtained of the King the grant of the year demanded, whilest his Lordship and the *Polanders* at *Marienburg* employ themselves with the *Suetbes* about those things which might further the Pacification: Those promising to exhibite (at the next meeting) certaine Articles

Exhibition of Articles by the Suetbes.

Articles of the whole Treaty wheron the agreement might be perfected.

*Additions by  
the Polanders,*

*The Truce to be  
for 26 years.*

The time appointed for the fifth meeting, and all the parties being come, the Mediators thought good that the Conditions (then exhibited by the *Suetbes* as fore-promised) should be communicated to the Commissioners of *Poland*: touching the Substance, they were all one with the former, some only altered and some added for their own availe, all the Mediators being present, they were accurately discussed by the *Polanders*, not a word or title which might be wrested to their prejudice left unexamined or corrected: The *French* Ambassador quoting (in the Mergent) the severall exceptions made by them. Therwith they also tendred to the Mediators such things as they would have to be inserted; importing, that forasmuch as the present Truce was chiefly ordained and concluded, to the end that during the same a perpetuall Peace might be the more commodiously treated and effected, therefore, within the space of two years next insuing the date of the said Truce, Commissioners should be appointed of both sides with full power and instructions, to meet, treat and conclude the sayd generall and assured Peace, by the intervention of those Kings and Princes whom the Parties should make choice of. And if the sayd Peace should not be then effected, the same to be resumed within the next two years; and if not then, the like within the two years ensuing, and so consequently, the Truce still continuing firme, untill the expiration of the twenty six years. Also that no Taxes or Customes should be exacted upon the River *Dyna* from the Inhabitants of the great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, or the Dukedome of *Curland*. That likewise, the Rights and Possessions of the Duke of *Curland* should remaine in the same state they were before the Warr. That in like manner it should be lawfull for those that had been exiled out of *Suetbland* or *Leisland* to return into their Countrey, and to recover their goods and Inheritance; and that, if they should not like to abide there, it should be free for them to sell or otherway dispose of their sayd Goods. That Ambassadors, or Messengers, of either side, should have free egresso and regresse. That the Fugitives of the great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, the Dukedome of *Curland*, and the *Piltien* Territory, or so many of them as should be found in *Leisland*, should be restored, and so reciprocally. That foure Ships appertaining to his Electorall Highnesse of *Brandenburg* should be restored. That there should be also freedome of Navigation from the Dutchy of *Curland*:

These Conditions were shewed to the Commissioners of *Suetbland* by the *French* Ambassador, and the *Brandenburgers* followed (soon after) by his Lordship and the *Hollanders*; the

the *polish* Emendations and additions (night now approaching) are cursorily by them run over; and those appearing to be things but of small moment, are referred untill the next day, so as all things seemed to go forward according to the general desire. One thing only bred some hesitation; the *French* Ambassador reasoning (by way of discourse) about the restitution of the *Romane Religion* in *Prussia*, urged by consequence, as from the Commissioners of *Poland*, the free exercise thereof in behalfe of those of that Religion remaining in *Leisland*: but that also was remitted to be handled the day following; neither was it then conceived that so much trouble would have ensued as that particular did afterwards produce. The Mediators and the Commissioners of *Poland* remained that night in *Stumb(dorff)*, the *Suethes* rettyred to *Stume*, the same being neer adjoyning, that so they might begin the more early the next morning.

Hopes of amicable conclusion.

A rub cast in.

To this sixth meeting (if not rather a continuance of the fifth) all Parties assembled, and the *French* Ambassador, the sole of all the Mediators addicted to the *Romish* profession, took upon him the patronizing thereof in *Leisland*, and growing zealous therein, earnestly pleaded that cause with the Commissioners of *Suethland*; who, observing with what fervency he pressed it, answered positively in the Negative, and gave these reasons: First, that in their Instructions they had not one word touching the same, neither, as they conceived, had their Principalls so much as once thought of it. Next, that they knew not that there were any of the *Romish* Creed in that Province, and therefore it was but a needlesse trouble to faigne things that were not in being.

French Ambassador sticking for the *Romish Religion* in *Leisland*.

Positively refused by the *Suethes*, and why.

And lastly, that albeit some of that profession might be found there, yet they could not for their consideration grant a free exercise of that Religion, the Statutes and fundamentall Lawes of their Kingdome being expressly against it.

These passages were by the *French* Ambassador related to the Commissioners of *Poland*, all of whom (but chiefly the Chancellor) took the matter hainously, affirming, that unlesse provision were made for the free exercise of Religion to those poor Soules, whose Salvation (said they) they tendered more then the losse of all *Leisland*, all the Treaty and the labour that had been employed therein would turn to nothing. His Lordship and the other Mediators would not (at first) intermeddle in that businesse, as not appertaining unto them; but finding the same to grow so difficult as not to be easily composed, but rather likely to overthrow whatsoever had been done before, they also thought good to interpose their Authority, and the whole day being almost spent in arguments and hot dispute about the same, they propounded unto

The Poles in opposition.

D d d

the

The other Mediators propounded a Medium.

the *Polanders* a draught for the reconcilement therof; if so be that accepted by them, the *Suetbes* could be drawn to give consent therunto.

But here, because in the whole Treaty no one point was contested with more sharpnesse on both sides, as also that none was more likely to have caused an absolute dissolution therof, and that the greatest difference in the severall means propounded for reconcilement, consisted for the most part in the distinction of words and phrases.

I have thought good to couch the severall formes, placing in the Mergent the Latine wherein they were word for word then conceived, wherby the Reader may with more satisfaction to himself settle his judgment therupon.

The first therfore administred by the Mediators was in these words.

*Sueci, hominibus Catholicis in Livonia toto indictionis tempore, cultum & ritum in privato permitturi, nullamque in eos inquisitionem ut hactenus facturi, neminique qui Religionem Catholicam professus fuerit, id ipsi noxę futurum.*

The *Suetbes* shall permit unto the (*Roman*) Catholike in *Leisland* their Worship and Ceremony in private during the whole time of the Truce, and no enquiry shall be made upon them as formerly had been, neither shall the professing of (that) Catholike Religion be a Crime or prejudice to any person there for the future.

This form written in a Scroll, was by the Mediators delivered to the Commissioners of *Suetbland*, each of them adding perswasions thereunto, yet all proved in vain, for the Draught was rejected, and night drawing on, an end was made for that time.

Arguments used by the French Ambassador,

The next day being the seventh, all parties assembling, the former dispute about the point of Religion in *Leisland* was continued; wherein the *French* Ambassador employed his whole endeavours, sharply checking the *Suetbes* for this their cruell, and (as he termed it) unheard of way of proceeding; setting before them how that the King his Master, at their late Kings consideration, had granted to the *Lutherans*, even in *Paris*, the free exercise of their Religion; which if they should obstinately persevere, and that the matter so required, he doubted not but he might (by Letters) easily disturb: but the *Suetbes*, nothing moved with these threats, yea, rather the more exasperated, replied that they were not bound to conform themselves unto, or to be judged by the examples or reasons of others, but by their own fundamentall Lawes and Statutes, which (without indangering their heads) they might not swarve from, as they should do mainly by condescending to the form propounded, which included not only private but publike exercise also, by those captious words, Worship and

Rejected by the *Suetbes*.

and Ceremonie; yet they professed that they would not be so severe as to make inquisition upon, or trouble the Catho-likes; but as heretofore would permit them to enjoy their private liberty of Conscience.

Cultus & Rit-  
us.  
Exemption  
from enquiry  
granted by the  
Suetes.

The Commissioners of *Poland* were no way contented with this Declaration, as well in regard (said they) that Religion without Worship, Rights, and Ceremonies, due at Divine Service, was but (in a manner) a dead Image; as also, that the liberty of Conscience enjoyed untill then, by the Catho-likes there, was indeed none at all, but a meer bondage, feare and trembling; during which, neither could those who were forced to conceal themselves, celebrate, or partake of the Masse, nor would their Children who should be afterwards borne, become initiated into their Church by Baptisme. That yet, not to break off the Treaty, they thought good to refer this something, which they esteemed as nothing unto their King, in as much as untill this point were settled, they could not proceed unto the other Articles; onely at the instance of the Mediators, by mutuall consent of parties, the cessation was prorogued for three daies.

Referred by the  
Poles to their  
King.

During the time of respite, the *French* Ambassador endeavoured to bring the Commissioners of *Suetes* to more complying termes, shewing the just cause their Adversaries had, relating to the point in question; that from thence only a most cruell War was like to arise, and that they would thereby procure the hatred and the enmity of others: but all in vain, for in the space of four houres he gained nothing.

French Amb.  
Solicitations  
refused.

The day prefixed for the eighth meeting being come, the Parties and the Mediators assembled at the wonted Village, where the Commissioners of *Poland*, authorized by their King, insist more mainly then before, upon the foresayd forme of Covenant, in the point of the Romish Religion; and for the more assurance, desired that the same might be ratified under the Hands and Seales of the Mediators, and affirmed that unlesse it were granted, there remained nothing but Warr, which (they sayd) they esteemed to be so much the more just, by how much it was more glorious to contest to the last gaspe, yea even to imbrace an honourable death, for the liberty of conscience and Religion.

The former  
forme insist-  
ed on by the  
Poles.

These things, with other like, being by them delivered; the *French* Ambassador, earnestly pleaded their cause with the Commissioners of *Suetes*, and as he was endowed with singular Eloquence, so he endeavoured to move them, by the strongest and most dexterous arguments he could, to admit of the foresaid form of Stipulation: Yet the *Suetes* (inflexible in their resolve) reject the same as captious and including under a specious forme of words, a free exercise of the Romish Reli-  
gion

Again by the  
Suetes rejes-  
ted.

gion which they might not assent unto; and added, that they also should have thereby a most just cause of Warr in maintaining by force and armes the liberty of Religion, which by the Divine goodnesse they had obtained, and in conserving the Lawes of their Kingdome without violation, which it would be more dishonourable for them to forego then if they had never had the same.

Bellum  
Bellum,

Sudden tumult.

With this repulse the *French* Ambassador at first astonished, afterward chafed, began to expostulate and to blame their hard heartednesse, as he tearmed it, but being unable to obtaine any further, he (though seeming thereto unwilling) takes a hopelesse farewell, departing from them to the *Polanders*, whom his Lordship and the *Hollanders* had, in the interim, assayed to perswade: Whilst he related the last and absolutely negative reply of the *Suetes*, some of them, being moved with indignation, spoke aloud the words of (*War War*) which albeit uttered within the Tent, were heard without, and (in a moment) spread among their attendants, and it so hapning, this being about the time of departure, that the *Suetes* Trumpeters then sounded to Horse, the *Polish* *Lanciers* (commonly called *Hussars*, of whom the Commissioners had for their ordinary Guard two Troops, as the *Suetes* the like Number of *Finlanders*) waxing suddenly and over-rashly enraged, did set upon some of the meaner unarmed *Suetes*, who (happily to gaze upon their strange Equipage) had advanced into the Village, and pursuing, hurt and wounded some of them with their Shables; nor therewith contented, began to gather into a body, preparing, as it were, for a more forcible on-set upon the *Suetish* Foot, of whom two Companies guarded their Lords Tents.

Threatning  
danger.

The tumult being heard, Generall *Wrangle*, who had untill then contained himself, seeing the disorder like to encrease, from whence danger might ensue, came forth of their Tent with a Partizan in his hand, and began to act his part of a resolute Commander, as well as of a Politick Commissioner, and having placed the Horse-men in order, but with a charge not to advance, yet if pressed, to repay blood with blood, he went immediately to draw up the foot, so to be ready if the contrary party should assail them. This unexpected tumult, as it was strange, so it might have proved equally dangerous to the Mediators, engaged between the parties; as to the parties themselves, both sides suspecting Treachery: Wherefore the *Hussars* being ready to make an irruption with their Lances; the *Suetish* foot (on the other side) presenting their Musquets, their Matches ready cockt, and the two *Finland* Troops (clad in hard Iron) with their Pistols in like manner expecting the charge, his Lordship and the *Hollanders* hastened

ned to the *Suetbes*, the *French* and *Brandenburgers* doing the like to the *Polanders*, exhorting each side to desist from further outrage, and to retire to their severall residences.

The *Suetbes* were obedient not only to the words but to the becks of their Commanders; the *Poles* neither regarding commands nor entreaties, and hardly endued to forbear by the perswasions of the grave Chancellor who called upon them by the name of Brethren, albeit at other times he was of great repute, as being next in authority to the King: yet at last this tumult was appeased; the *Suetbes* departing, environned with their Guards, wroth, and resolving to abandon the Treaty complained of, reviled, yea, cursed the injurioufnesse and perfidious proceeding (as they termed it) of the *Polanders*.

*Appeared,*

*The Suetbes exasperated.*

The Commissioners of *Poland* having caused their Troops to withdraw, made their addresse to the Mediators, to purge themselves from the preceding accident, protesting their innocency, and ignorance by whose rashnesse the same had fallen out, whom they would neverthelesse endeavour to discover and punish. They professed themselves exceedingly grieved for the trouble, perill, and apprehension they had undergone, and intreated them to clear their innocency towards the adverse party, who (they conjectured) might harbour a prejudice against them by sinisterous Suspitions.

*The Poles purge themselves.*

Lastly, they desired, that a meeting might be granted the next day.

The Mediators willingly condescended, but for preventing the like evils in the future, they desired that the Troops might be restrained, and a severe punishment denounced against such as should exceed their bounds. Taking leave, the Mediators returned toward *Marienburg*, and his Lordship first overtaking the *Suetbes*, met the Generall *De la Garde*, who upon notice of the tumult, had issued with some forces to assist the Commissioners if need should have required.

His Lordship perswaded them to a meeting the day following, and slighted the disorder that had hapned, as being a casualty not worthy of mention, but as this was a way-faring discourse it received no resolution, they seeming rather to decline any present meeting, least that the bitterness being still fresh in memory, the minds of each side might be exasperated, and thought it would be better to try by Missives what would be the conclusion about the point of Religion in *Leifland*. Hereupon his Lordship and the *Hollanders* agree to appoint a conference with the *Poles* Commissioners at the place where they had met once before, called *Newendorff*, which his Lord did signifie unto them by writing.

*A conference between his Lordship and the Poles.*

In the mean time, as formerly the rumour of a Peace had been divulged, so the last disorder had spread the noise of War,

E e e

whereupon

*Hostility began.* whereupon from severall parts) the Canon began to play very thick on both sides: but the Mediators fearing least such fiery flashes might prove the incendiaries to an unextinguishable flame, his Lordship meeting the Commissioners of Poland at the place appointed, desired them to abstain from such *pretensions*, which the *Suethes* interpreted as a commencement of hostility, least by the breach of Truce, the Mediators (traveling about the publike) might incur danger.

*The former tumult excused.*

The Chancellour replied with a long Oration, resumming the excuses of the former daies tumult; from thence he descended to the matter in question, and produced Letters from the Colonell *Articenskie*, which affirmed that he had been provoked by the *Suethes*. Whilest they thus argue, the French Ambassador came also from *Marienburg*, who being desirous to finish the dispute about the fore-mentioned point of Religion, first endeavoured to refute the rumour that was spread, as if he had hindered the Peace when it was in a manner at the point of concluding; next he professed, that according to the zeal wherewith God had endowed him towards his Religion, he had ever maintained the same, his inner conscience not permitting him to abandon so just a cause; and lastly, he enquired what the Commissioners had determined touching that particular.

*Apology by the French Ambassador.*

*Digestion.*

Neither was this Apology wholly unnecessary, or the vulgar opinion altogether improbable, for by reason of the strickt confederacy between the King his Master and the Crown of *Suethen*, by way of mutuall assistance against the *Austrian* Family, it was conceived that he would from the beginning be obnoxious to the designs of the *Polanders*, for which cause he was the less desired by them, as one who to corroborate the friendship of that fore-named Crown the more firmly to his Master, would undoubtedly advance the interest therof, which indeed he did so far as he might, without evident blemish to the Impartiality of a Mediator, all Dignity: But now the Treaty being in a fair way of conclusion, and howbeit not for an absolute Peace, yet for a Truce of so long continuance as would see many changes over-passe before it expired, and the Crown of *Suethen* being freed thereby of all apprehension of hostility from that side, might prosecute the War in *Germany* the more intensively, and so be the more concurring with the designs of the King his Master, and afford him the greater assistance by a more powerfull diversion, it was neither contrary to reason or policy, that he should endeavour at the last cast to ingratiate himself into the favour of the *Polanders*, and to remove the jealousies, they might have conceived, of his avernesse towards their affairs; and the rather because sundry advantages might be thereby derived, to the advancement of the King

King his Masters Service; by the entertaining of Officers and Souldiers, especially the strangers in the *Polish Army*, into his Masters Pay, which he afterwards assayed to have done; but with small successe, the Emperours Ministers, who also gaped after the disbanding of that Army preventing him therein; by drawing Colonell *Bauter* (by them made Generall Major) with severall Commanders, as well *English* and *Scots*, as *Irish* and others, with most of the Infantry, into the Imperiall Service; so to recruit the old, or frame a new Army in *Silesia* & *Moravia*.

For these and other considerations it may be (and was) conceived, that he might not unwillingly cast in that Bone, the rather for that the businesse being almost ended, and the Parties by how much neerer to peace in their hopes, by so much the more affected unto it; so as they would not break off upon slight occasions, not doubting, but that either by the Parties, or the Mediators, a meane would be found out to make all even againe: and if he were not the first mover of that point, then which he could never have pickt out one more specious, or that could carry more lustre, nor render him more gracious with the *Polanders*, especially with their Clergy who bear a great sway in that Kingdome, yet it may be supposed that by his forwardnesse therein, he animated the *Polanders* to a greater pertinacy, and obstinate perseverance in that contest, which was longer and more hotly continued then any other, neither was any one more likely to have caused a finall rupture. As to his pretended conscientious zeale, albeit there can be nothing better then to retain a good conscience in all things, yet the conscience of one man cannot be obligatory to that of another, much lesse to a generality, and especially to their prejudice; the same consisting of a mans inward disposition towards God and Man wrought in him by that spirit wherewith he is acted; and therefore a mans private conscience ought not to be instanced as an inducement to a State, in matters of Religion, and especially of a different Creed.

But notwithstanding all these designes, there wanted but little that the King having gotten such an advantage, had not made use thereof to thwart all their hopes of a reconcilement and to advance his owne ends; for the Warlike Prince, fortunate in all his former undertakings against his Enemies, and breathing new Conquests; had (as was conceived) no inclination to the Truce, but rather desired to have vindicated his pretensions to the Crowne and Kingdome of *Sueathland*, by the Sword, seeing very well that he should not obtaine the same by Treaty. And as the Commissioners for the Republicke of *Poland*, observing they could not get a restitution of *Lessland*, whereupon they insisted at the first as well as for *Prussia*,

*Prussia*, would make no generall Peace; choosing rather a Truce, after the expiration whereof their pretences to *Leiffland* were still the same, even so, King *Vladislavus* perceiving that, as well by the one as the other, there was little appearance of his regaining the Crown of *Suethe*, did equally distrust the Peace and Truce, and was induced to a condescension meerly by the Potency rather than the persuasions of the *Polish* Senators; who bending wholly to what was for the present behoof of the Republike, had little regard to the particular interest of their Prince; a thing usuall in Elective Kingdomes, whereas the King was desirous to have recovered his (pretended) right by force of Armes, seeing it could not be other wise gained, wherby he might have assured his Posterity of a hereditary Kingdom, in case they should come to be pretermitted in the Elective, as himself had almost been, and wher the eldest would not (alone) be assured of a Crown, but the younger likewise would be secured of Principalities and Dukedomes, answerable to the Dignity of their birth, which in *Poland* they were not by any Right or Title: for these reasons it may be conjectured that the King was not unwilling to embrace any occasion of a rupture, and even of late, by standing stiff upon sundry points of smaller consequence, he had not obscurely discovered his mind; neither could he have a more glorious presence (as to them) then that of Religion; wherby also, he might reap another (and no small) advantage: to wit, the razing out of his Subjects minds, especially those of the Clergy, an opinion they had conceived, that he favoured the reformed Religion, more then they desired he should, albeit that surmise of theirs had no other ground then that they knew, those of the Reformation had deserved better of him, at the time of the Election, then themselves had done; yet this might be a motive to the King to make a cleer demonstration of his zeal to the contrary, by sticking so fast to this particular wheron (indeed) he insisted most earnestly, and so far that the Chancellour who at his first pressing therof, did not think that ever it would have come to that height, was more puzzled therewith then with any other point which (before or after the same) came to be discussed in the whole Treaty, as well how to satisfie the King, as to save their own honour and prevent a breach the same being feared by many, and was not undesired by some; but I will now leave this and return to the matter from which I have digressed further then I intended.

THE *French* Ambassador having ended his Apologie (the inducement to the former digression) and successively gained a good opinion with the *Polanders*, howbeit not without irritating his old Friends the *Suethe*, and being therefore the more desirous

desirous to see an end of that controversie which himself had first broached, did earnestly require from the Commissioners of Poland their finall resolution upon the point in question; after two or three houres spent in debate, the Polish Lords agreed that another form should be conceived in writing, whereby in place of the words *Ritus* and *Cultus*, liberty of conscience, and exercise of profession should be inserted, as followeth.

The (Roman) Catholickes in *Leifland* shall enjoy liberty of their consciences all the time of the Truce, neither shall any enquiry or animadversion be made into them, and if any one shall exercise that Catholicke Religion in private, it shall be no Crime unto him.

*Homines Catholicos in Livonia toto induciarum tempore libertate conscientiarum gavifuros nullamque in eos inquisitionem & animadversionem factum iri, & si quis Religionem Catholicam in privato exercuerit, id ipsi noxa non futurum.*

Hereupon the Mediators urged a prorogation of the Truce, which the Commissioners affirmed they had no power to grant, but that within an houre at farthest, by six swift Horses which stood in a readines between them and the Camp, then two Dutch miles distant, they might acquaint the King with this last draught and the cessation required, and therupon receive his pleasure; that in the *interim*, the other conditions of the Truce (which had been intermitted almost a week) might be brought again upon the Carpet: they were taken into examination, and the tenth was in handling, some being added, some expunged, others corrected, when the Courier returned with the Kings Letters, containing a cessation for the next day only; during which, the King on the one side, the *Suetes* on the other, might consider of the form last expressed: With this answer his Lordship and the *Hollanders* returned to *Marienbourg*, the French Ambassador went to *Sumb/dorff* neer at hand, there to expect what the *Suetes* would declare.

*Cessation of Arms for a day only.*

Early the next morning the other Mediators visited the *Suetes*, exhibiting that new forme of draught, beyond which (they affirmed) nothing was to be obtained from the *Poles*: but they, having observed the word Exercise, which they conceived to be more prejudiciall and of a larger extent then the former, did utterly reject it, calling the treating of the *Poles* a meer mockery, whereunto not onely themselves, but the Mediators also were exposed, and that they were not onely provoked but inforced unto a War: This first heat being somewhat allayed, they were contented at his Lordships instance to draw up three other formes of grant, each gradually milder then the other; the first was thus.

*The second form rejected by the Suetes.*

*Homines Catholicos in Livonia toto induciarum tempore, eadem libertate conscientiarum & religionis qua hactenus sub imperio & jurisdictione S. R. Majestatis Regnique Suecia gavisunt, gavisuros, nullamque in eos inquisitionem & animadversionem factum iri, si sese ita gesserint uti hactenus gesserunt, neque si quis Catholicam religionem in privato professus fuerit, id ipsi noxe futurum.*

The (Roman) Catholicks in *Leisland* shall enjoy during the whole time of the Truce, the same liberty of their Consciences and Religion that hitherto they have done under the Sovereignty and Jurisdiction of the Queen and Kingdome of *Suethland*; neither shall any enquiry or animadversion be made into them if they shall so demean themselves as they have done hitherto, nor shall any one incur blame or prejudice for professing that Catholick Religion in private.

The second was more brief as followeth.

*Homines Catholici in Livonia gaudeant eadem libertate conscientiarum & Religionis qua hactenus sunt gavis nullaque in eos inquisitio & animadversio institatur quatenus sub imperio & jurisdictione S. R. Majestatis ac Regni Sueciae factum est si sese ita gesserint uti hactenus gesserunt.*

The (Roman) Catholicks in *Leisland* shall enjoy the same liberty of Conscience and Religion they have hitherto done, neither shall any enquiry or animadversion be made into them as hath been under the Raigne and Jurisdiction of her Majesty and the Kingdome of *Suethen*, provided they shall so behave themselves as they have hitherto done.

The third was yet more favourable in these words.

*Homines Catholicos qui jam sunt in Livonia toto induciarum tempore libertate conscientiarum & Religionis gavisuros, nullamque in eos inquisitionem & animadversionem factum iri, neque si quis Catholicam Religionem in privato professus fuerit, id ipsi noxe futurum.*

The (Roman) Catholicks that now are in *Leisland* shall enjoy liberty of their Consciences and Religion during the whole time of the Truce, without any animadversion or enquiry to be made into them, neither if any one shall professe that Catholick Religion in private, shall it be prejudiciall unto him.

Rejected by the King.

These severall formes were by his Lordship sent by an exprefs to the French Ambassador, who therewith speedily repaired from *Stamsdorff* to the King (then in his Camp) towards whom he employed himself with all the efficacy he could; notwithstanding which, the three Draughts aforesaid being rejected, he obtained a continuation of the cessation for two daies only, wherof he certified his Lordship by writing, promising a speedy return to *Marienburg*, which he performed the next evening, and (together with the other Mediators) repairing to the *Suethes*, he expressed his endeavours and the repulses he had sustained in a long and elegant

elegant Oration; and at length their minds and eares attentively listning, he recreates them with this last resolution of the *Polanders*; to wit, that they had consented to the forme last mentioned, the word *Devotion* only inserted, instead wherof those of exercise and indemnity were omitted, as by the form ensuing appeareth.

The (*Romane*) *Catholicks* in *Liesland* shall enjoy liberty of their Consciences, Religion and Devotion during all the time of the Truce, neither shall any enquiry or animadversion in that regard be made into them.

*Homines Catholicos in Livonia toto induciarum tempore libertate conscientiarum & Religionis Devotionisque gavisuros, nullamque in eos inquisitionem & animadversionem eo nomine factum iri.*

At first the *Suetbes* seemed rather to refuse then to admit of the same, because they thought that in the word *Devotion*, there was some other thing included which might be to them prejudiciall and advantageous to their Adversaries; yet they were contented to take the same into consideration untill the day following, with promise that they would then declare therupon:

*The last forme propounded by the Poles:*

The Mediators, taking leave, imagined their consent as good as granted, but it appeared otherwise, for the Commissioners of *Suetben* did early the next Morning, by *Lording* their Secretarie, signify unto them, that upon due consultation, and a review of the Extent of their Commission, they could not condescend unto the forme last propounded which (covertly) implied nothing but a free exercise. The Mediators took this change in evil part, and complayned that they were put to an endlesse work, in that whatsoever they concluded was annulled and illuded by one exception or other, wherefore they joyntly affirmed that they would take their leave and abandon the Treaty, whereof they advertised them by the said Secretarie.

*Displeased by the Suetbes.*

Neither (probably) would they have been wanting to their resolution, if the Commissioners of *Suetland*, seeing the Mediators about to depart discontented, and the *French* Ambassador affirming that the word (*Devotion*) was to be understood of private exercise onely, had not declined from their obstinacie and accepted of the forme last specified: only they requested his Lordship and the Ambassadors of *Holland* to afford them an attestation under their hands and scales, that they had consented but to a private liberty of conscience without inquisition to be made thereupon and not to the free exercise of Religion, which the said Mediators consenting unto, this difficultie also was reconciled at last, and hereof the *French* Ambassador certified the Commissioners of *Poland*,

*At length admitted.*

*Attestation desired.*

desiring

desiring their appearance the next day at the accustomed place, which the *Suethes* had likewise agreed unto.

Particulars insisted on,

*Stumbs-dorff* (after a long intermission) saw now the ninth congregating of the Mediators and Parties, who having concluded satisfactorily about the point of Religion, thought good to continue the examination of the Articles begun at *Newendorff* with those of *Poland*. Certain slight scruples were moved, but the cheife dispute was about the burthens and exactions which the late warr had Introduced, as the fortifications at *Mountispitz*: the abrogation of the *Dantzig* Stamp upon cloath: the returne of the *English* Society to *Elbing*, the restoring to that Citie of the *Prussian* Land-seal with their prerogative of Session. The razing of *Mountispitz* was referred to the decision of the question depending. The abrogation of the *Dantzig* Stamp and the freedome of the *English* Society, was earnestly disputed and pressed by his Lordship, whose part it was, as also a part of his Commission, who clearly shewed that the said Stamp, being no other than a *Monopoly*, had been fraudulently procured by those of *Dantzig* to the disturbance of free trade, and to the great prejudice and hinderance of the Merchants of great *Brittaine*, Subjects to the King his Master, the fourth part of cloath not being then transported which formerly had been to the no small losse even of the *Polish* Nobility and Gentry, who had been accustomed to buy such commodities at easie rates, and now suffered exceedingly thereby as themselves affirmed, but to the immense gaine of the *Dantzigers*, contrary to the freedome of commerce, and to common reason which forbids that one man should be enriched by the detriment of another.

The *Brandenburgers* and the *Hollanders* pressed (each) their interest. The *French* Ambassador pleaded, in some measure, the cause of the *Elbingers*, touching the *Prussian* Land-Seale.

Plausible answer,

The *Poland* Commissioners answered his Lordships proposition, by an acknowledgment that the *Dantzig* Stamp upon cloath, granted by King *Sigismundus*, was unjust, and severall wayes prejudiciall; and promised to employ their endeavours at the next Parliament for the abrogation therof, conforme to their Kings promise to his Lordship: but they affirmed, that for the present, they neither had power neither that any out of Parliament, could be given them against an Act therof, such as the grant of the Stamp was: that as all Nations were bounded by their proper lawes, so it likewise behoved them to govern themselves by their Statutes; his Lordship was not contented with this plausible answer, and indeed it was no more, but replied that the like words had been

been given to Sir *Tho. Roe* formerly Ambassador there from the King his Master, and to sundry other Ministers, who had pressed the same freedom he now urged, for the *English* Merchants, from that oppression, and therefore againe instanced even the Truce it selfe, now in a manner concluded, as a maine argument for that liberation; in regard that the countrey being thereby freed from the inconveniencies, and miseries attending War, it was not reasonable that strangers, dwelling peaceably amongst them, and by whose trafficke they reaped profit should still grone under the burthen of a yoke which themselves acknowledge to be unjust, and that the same having been introduced as a calamity incident, to the prejudice of the publike, ought to vanish and end with it's originall, and therefore he earnestly moved that not onely a bare endeavour might be promised, but that a reall abrogation might be obtained, and that the same might be inserted in the Acts and Articles of the present Treatie: yet all this was fruitlesse, for the Commissioners of *Poland* betook themselves to their former refuge, (impossibility) against which all reasons were invaled, They onely assented to continue the cessation for three dayes longer and to a meeting the second following.

*Unsuccessful.*

*Cessation for three dayes.*

These Passages were communicated to the *Suetbes*, and the Marginall notes were by them cursorily run over; whereupon those Commissioners, thinking it would be much to their dishonour to abandon the *Elbingers* and their interest, earnestly commended to the Mediators the care of the points above mentioned concerning the Towne of *Elbing*, viz. The abrogation of the *Dantzic* Stamp cheifely, and the restoration of the *Prussian* Scale from which they assured them they would not shrink: but night drawing on they reserved the *Polish* corrections and exceptions to be scanned at *Marienburg*, and so consented as well to the meeting as to the prorogation: and the next day, the Commissioners of *Suetbland*, being demanded their resolution concerning the Articles, deferred the same to be produced at the meeting.

The tenth congresse being come, the *Suetbes* exhibited their Articles in presence of the Mediators, which were examined, and scanned for almost six houres; some things being added others taken away: but all other difficulties were shadowes in comparison of that about the forementioned Stamp, for the cancelling wherof his Lordship againe endeavoured with all his might, evincing the Justice and necessity thereof by most forcible reasons and arguments, yet unsuccessfully; for after a long and harsh expostulation, the Senate of *Dantzic*, some of which body were alwayes present, and not lesse vigilant in things that concerned their Weale-common, hindered

*His Lordship insists as before.*

the same by such wayes and meanes as were facile and easie to that Opulent Citie.

And notwithstanding that his Lordship (but whether then or formerly is not remembred) had urged, that in regard the difference in question meerly concerned the Merchants, Subjects of the King his Master, and the Citie of *Dantzic* under the jurisdiction of the King of *Poland*, the Parties interestted might be free to right themselves upon each other in vindication of their Priviledges and freedome of commerce, without offence to be taken by either of their Princes; to which ours would subscribe: answer was made by the Commissioners of *Poland* that their King could not abandon his Subjects; so that in conclusion he obtained nothing but a reiteration of their former promise to contribute their endeavours for it's abolition at the next Parliament: which his Lordship seeming to doubt of by reason of the liberty of opposing by each one who hath Session and vote in those generall assemblies, which rendred the issue uncertaine, albeit he made himselfe confident of the reall performance of their promised endeavours, the said Commissioners for his further satisfaction were willing to assure him that their votes and suffrages preceding as guides, the rest would follow: his Lordship seeing that more could not be then obtained, was forced to desist from pressing the same any further: he only insisted earnestly that the said point of abrogating the stampee might be inserted in the Regall Mandates for the calling of the next Parliament, to be (with the other heads) considered of in their preparatoriall conventions, or Land-dayes (as they call them) for choice of deputies that so the result might not be longer evaded by a Plea of ignorance or want of instruction touching the matter in question, a thing usual amongst them: and this also was largely promised.

The Poles  
promise future  
satisfaction

The point which came to be discussed in the next place, was the restitution of the *Prussian* Land-Seale to the Citie of *Elbing*: after which, the deduction of the army of the *Suetbes* was handled, Neither did it cause small contention, for the *Suetbes* required that their forces might have free passage into *Pomerania* through the *Polish* territorie, they promising a strict observation of Military discipline: the Commissioners of *Poland* would have them (will they, will they) to depart as they came, by Sea; all arguments being used, and no meane of compounding found, it was (by them) referred to their Kings determination, from whom they might expect an answer of their letters the next day. The Mediators remained in the village that night to ease themselves, their servants and horses of the daily travell.

Transport of  
Forces.

The

The next day being the eleventh Congress, the Regal resolution was expected untill ten of the forenoon; and not to lose time, the foresaid difficulties being set apart, the other Conditions were taken into discussion by either of the parties, by reason that the King being gone to Danzig, it was conceived his resolution would hardly be brought in three daies: The Articles for the free return of the exiled *Sueshes* living in Poland, into their native Country, as also the restitution of their Goods movable and immovable were that day transacted, concerning which the Curious are referred to the Articles of the Treaty.

And other points discussed.

Upon the day following which made the twelfth meeting, the Mediators proceeded with the parties to the examination of the Conditions remaining, which caused a new scruple with the *Sueshes*, by reason of an uncertain rumour that Duke Radziwill, great Generall of Lithuania, had lately upon the expiration of the first Truce made entrance into *Leisland*, and taken certain places and Townes: The *Sueshes*, who had concluded the Article about the retaining of *Leisland* according to the form of the former Treaty, That each party should possess the same during the Truce in the same manner he then possessed it, desired of the Mediators that in regard the forms aforesaid was in generall and obscure termes, whereby they might sustain prejudice, a clause might be added, that if any places in *Leisland* had been taken of either side during the present Treaty, they should be restored.

New Scruple of the Sueshes.

Demand thereon.

This restriction seemed strange unto the *Poles*, yet affected them rather with laughter then anger, they solemnly affirming that they were ignorant of what was done in *Leisland*, and that they did not beleive the Duke to have made a progresse so advantageous as was vulgarly reported: but alledged withall, that the Conventions were wholly repugnant to that clause, and that what had once been concluded by agreement ought not to be altered; that for them, in case they had been so fortunate to restore those things they had obtained by a favourable chance of War, would expose them to the scorn of all men. The Mediators (that they might make a timely remove of this rub) remonstrated, that forasmuch as the first prorogation of the Truce had been continued from the month of July to that present of August from time to time, by the consent of parties, it was no lesse to be understood for a cessation of hostility in *Leisland* then in *Prussia*; and that they had ever beleived, according as it had been reported unto them, that Couriers had been from time to time dispatched into *Leisland* to that effect. That if nothing but the truth were affirmed, the request of the *Sueshes* seemed unto them wholly conformable to reason and to the publike faith given, so oftentimes

Answered by the Poles.

Judgement of the Mediators.

reiterated; and that they therefore earnestly intreated them not to go upon captious advantages, shewing that they had been already enough and over-much troubled about the precedent differences.

referred to the  
King.

The Commissioners of *Poland* being moved with these remonstrances, yet having no power of themselves to dispose of the matter, they referred it also to the King, whose pleasure therein they desired to receive. The other Articles were afterwards from noon to night, thoroughly discussed; and therein amongst other things, the *Polish* Lords earnestly urged, that the first condition of their side concerning a Treaty for perpetuall Peace, during the present Truce, to be appointed at a certain time and place (as hath been before expressed) might be included in the Acts of this Treaty, with sundry other things formerly by them exhibited. Lastly a Prorogation of the cessation was agreed unto for foure daies.

The meeting was resumed the day following, being the 13th. and therein the Commissioners of *Suehland* vigorously opposed the inserting of the foresaid Article into those of the present Treaty for Truce; chiefly for this reason, that the Treaty for a perpetuall Peace having been already deserted, and in lieu thereof this Negotiation of Truce undertaken, they could not as then say ought therto; and therefore seeing that their Commission of treating about the same was expired, they could not admit of any particular mention thereof in the Articles of the present Treaty, nor prefix any place or time; but added, that forasmuch as they certainly knew their Queen would never be averse to such a Treaty, they consented to a generall mention thereof, such as had been in the former Truce for the six years now expired.

Other difficulties  
composed.

This distinction being intimated to the *Polanders*, they were somewhat chafed, but his Lordship propounding that either the Duke of *Courland*, or of *Pomerania* might be entreated to take the matter on them as Solicitors or Intermediators; their intervention was not unacceptable to those of *Poland*, nor the addition made by the *Suetbes*, that in case the Treaty of perpetuall Peace should not succeed according to the generall wishes, either at the first, or so often as it should be undertaken, the present Truce should (notwithstanding) remain firme and unviolable untill the end of the terme prefixed by these Articles.

The Kings answer concerning the three forespecified points; to wit, the *Prussian* Land-seal, the way of Deduction for the Army of *Suetbes*, and the restitution of places (if any) taken in *Leisland* during the present Treaty, was not yet come, so as the Mediators being inforced to patience, betook themselves to their severall Retreats.

The

The fourteenth meeting was now come, but not the Kings answer, in the meane time the Mediators endeavoured to agree that point of the deduction of the Army, but could not. The *Polanders* refused the same for these two reasons chiefly; First, that by granting it they should seeme willing to give way to the prejudice of those whose Lands they should passe through, perhaps even to their ruine, through the insolencie of Souldiers in their March, notwithstanding any Order or command to the contrary: the promise of strickt observation of Military discipline by Commissioners deputed thereunto, they conceived to be a fair colour but not a safeguard sufficient to prevent losse or injury; much lesse any assurance thereby of competent satisfaction: Secondly, that by this meanes they might offend other Princes, but mostly the Emperour, to whose prejudice it would turne. The *Suetes* on the other side, shewed, that they had not halfe the Shippes that would be needfull to transport by Sea so great an Army as theirs, which they computed to consist of (with their Garisons) two and twenty thousand *Effectivè*: but that if they were supplied of Shipping, either by the *Dantzigers* or others, they would willingly take that way.

After this dispute, whereby nothing was gained of either side; the *Polanders*, at the Mediators request, sent other Messengers to hasten the Kings declaration, which yet they could not expect that day, and therefore the cessation now neere expiring, it was thought good to continue the same one day longer onely; so sparing of time were those of *Poland*, by reason of the great charge they sustained in retaining the Army, whereupon each Party retired, and the meeting was deferred untill the second day following.

*Cessation continued one day onely.*

The fifteenth Congresse was now come, and with it the Kings resolution, which was delivered to the Mediators by the Commissioners of *Poland* in this manner. Touching the *Prussian* Land-seale, there should be inserted in the seventh Article which made mention of conserving the rights, privileges, and Customes of *Elbing*, that he would maintaine the same as in former times it had been, both as to the Seale and Session (but with this clause) after they had tendred the due Oath of Fidelity to his Majesty.

*The Kings resolution.*

Concerning the restitution of places in *Leisland*, if any had been taken during the present Treatie, That one Article should be drawn up for each Partie to possesse *Leisland* as they had done during the last Truce. For the removing of the Army, it was consented that the forces of each side, except those Garisons to be retained untill the Parliamentary ratification were procured, should be deducted out of the Province by such a time as between the Generals should be agreed,

*Concerning the move of the Army.*

H h h

and

and that the *Suethes* were to returne by Sea, unlesse that in the time to be set for their departure, sufficient Shipping could not be found, especially for the Horse, in which case a free (but speedy) undisturbed passage by land into the Territories subject unto them, without damage of the Inhabitants (mediatly or immediatly) Subjects of the Kingdome of *Poland*, should be permitted: the like to be observed if any of the *Suethish* foot should be disbanded, conditionally that present justice should be administred by the Officers for losse or injury any way sustained; which was nothing else but a conning at that Armies passage, wherein the *Polonians* carried themselves circumspectly, not to suffer the same to march with Colours flying, but rolled up: Not by whole Regiments but by Troops or Companies, so to remove suspicion or envy from themselves.

Accepted by the  
*Suethes*.

To this, the *Suether*, yet with some reluctancy consented, as also to certain other Articles touching the *Polish* interest, as the transport of Merchandizes down the River *Dyna* without molestation, the ancient customes and payments observed; as also the restoring (when required) the Subjects of the great Dutchy of *Littaw*, and of the Dukedome of *Courland*, with those of *Poland* that should be found in *Leisland*: and thus at last (not without the indefatigable labour of the Mediators) the things of greatest concernment were agreed upon between the parties: there only remained that in the next daies meeting the Articles should be reviewed, compared, and signed.

Generall meeting of Mediators and parties in the Mediators Tent.

Upon the sixteenth resort all the morning was employed in reviewing and transcribing the Articles, which being done, the Commissioners on both sides being accompanied by the Mediating Ministers, were brought into the Mediatoriall Tent, and there (with the Mediators) took their Stations without prerogative of place, on each side of a Table that had been purposely prepared; where the Articles and Conditions of the Treaty were read over from the beginning to the end. Those of *Poland* urged the inserting of that ceremonial Article, that the Emperor, the Duke of *Bavaria*, &c. might be included in the Treaty, as had been done in the last six years Truce, the *Suethes* affirmed the same to be altogether needlesse, yet (at last) consented to insert, That if any Christian Potentate, or Prince, of either part, should desire to be comprehended within the present Treaty, they might have admittance, provided that they did declare themselves within five months, accounting from the signing of those presents.

Objection made by his Lordship.

His Lordship objected against the 14. Article, concerning the restoring of the ancient commerce, as being over particular, and regarding the free commerce and traffick between those two Crownes and Kingdomes only, without any consideration

on

on of the publike concernment of other Nations, which nevertheless had no small interest therein, and insisted that (in the Latine) the same might be corrected by interposing the conjunction (*Et*) which also had been promised by the *Sueths*, but his Lordship finding their Copy likewise defective in that particular, did not spar, even in that publike convention, to tel one of their Commissioners, that he had deceived his expectation and trust. To his Lordships instance, the Commissioners of *Poland* replied, that the present Treaty was between them and the *Sueths* only, and not with other Nations, who (if they had ought to negotiate) might elsewhere discusse the same, and that it was not to be confusedly intermixt with those Treaties. His Lordship made return, that the point in question was not a confused intermixture in the Treaty, but a main dependent therupon, in regard that the disturbance of Traffick with other Nations had proceeded from the dissention between those two Crownes, and ought therefore (of right) to be restored to its ancient freedome by this League of Peace: yet this or what else he could alledge availed not; For the Parties were now bent to agree, and the Conditions in a manner concluded; neither would they by insisting upon things, extraneous to themselves, run into the hazard of a breach: and the rather, because the *Dantzigers*, who were Potent on the *Polish* side, and saw how much this concerned their Stample, did mainly oppose it. On the other side the *Sueths* deserted the same, albeit that (formerly) in their care of the Towne of *Elbing*, they had recommended it to be insisted on by the Mediators, as an Article (*Sine qua, Non*): Neither had the *French* Ambassador any interest in this Article, or the *Brandenburgers* likewise, nor the *Hollanders* not much in comparison of us: So that his Lordship, not able to carry it alone, was constrained to desist.

*waived by the Poles.*

*Deserted by the Sueths.*

It is here observable, that his Lordship discoursing with the *Polanders* in their own Tent, concerning the precedence of nomination to be inserted in the preface of the Articles, which, according to right intervening he challenged as due to the King his Master, by whom his first repaire had been directed toward their King; they declined the same on pretence of its being contrary to the custome of their *Cancellarie*, which (saide they) alwayes gave the precedence to the King of *France*, where from it was not lawfull for them to swarve. His Lordship taking this somewhat harshly, told them (and breifly) that as to the couching of the preface he must leave the care of it to them, yet he desired they would be cautious of discontenting a Prince their freind, who had given proof thereof in sundry occasions, and particularly in that before them.

*Precedency of nomination challenged by his Lordship.*

*Declined by the Poles.*

Hereupon

Hereupon the parties according in all things, assembled in a confident and friendly manner in the Mediatoriall Tent, to confer (even without them) of some things more particularly: after which there remained nothing but that the two Generals *Conigspolskie*, and *Jacobus de la Garde*, should meet and treat touching the time of the restitution of places, as *Marienburg*, *Stume*, and *Braunsburg*, as also about the deduction of the Army; wherupon the Treaty, when signed, would at last be finally concluded: both which points were deferred unto the day following, and concerning the attendants of the forenamed Generalls, it was agreed of either side, that each should not exceed the number of fifty followers.

Contest for precedence of subscription.

Meeting of the Generals of each side.

And accord.

The seventeenth meeting ensued, or rather a continuation of the former, in which some contest hapned between the Ambassadors of Great *Brittaine* and *France*, about the Subscription, and the like competition also between the Electorals and the *Hollanders*, each party being willing to vindicate the precedence in the right of his Prince or Principals, so as the former Mediators did now seem to stand in need of the like. The dispute about the same was not final, but whilst it was in hottest agitation, the Generals of each side attended with the forespecified number, in great Magnificence arrived at the place of treaty, and each accompanied with the Mediators, did (soon after) salute each other in the open Village neer unto the Mediatoriall Tent; wherinto they entred with the Commissioners of the severall Crowns, by severall waies, and therein consulted about the restitution of places, and the deduction of the Army.

Between them it was agreed, that the *Suetes*, receiving the Regall ratification of the Treaty forthwith, as also security from the Commissioners of *Poland* authorized by Parliament, the same should be ratified by the States at their next convention, should restore *Marienburg* with the greater Island, *Stume*, *Braunsberge*, and *Tolkemyth*, with the Territories belonging to them, into the hands of the Commissioners of the King and Kingdome of *Poland*, the Garrisons being first removed: and that the *Henght* and *Junkertreill* should be razed in the presence of certaine Deputies of each side, leaving the ground and goods to whom they belonged. That the Armies of either side should be sent away within fourteen daies, or therabouts: But that *Elbing* with its ancient bounds; the lesser Island with the Fortifications raised therein, as also the *Pillaw* and that part of the *Nering* therto appertaining, should remain in the possession of the Queen and Crowne of *Sueten*, untill they should receive the ratification of the States of *Poland*, and thereupon to render up the foresaid places within fourteen daies after the receipt therof; and that the Garrisons should be removed without any damage to the Inhabitants; with this condition

dition also, that all the Fortifications made at *Elbing* should remain in the same state they then were, and in the same custody as before the War.

The Commissioners of *Poland* having desired an attestation from the Mediators, touching the form of concession by the *Sueths* for the private permission of the *Roman* Religion in *Leisland*, and the *French* Ambassador being unwilling to signe the same in reference to the competition between him and the Ambassador of *Great Brittain*, the *Polish* Lords were contented to accept of a testification from his Lordship and the *Hollanders* onely, which they granted, the same importing; That they did therby testifie and make known to all whom it might any way concern, that the Lords Commissioners for the Queene and Kingdome of *Suethland* had really covenanted and permitted that the *Romane* Catholicks in *Leisland*, should, during the whole time of the Truce, enjoy liberty of Conscience, the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and Devotion in private, nor any inquisition to be made, or punishment to be therfore inflicted: and that the present attestation was given with the knowledge and expresse consent of the fore-mentioned Commissioners, in confirmation wherof they had therunto affixed their hands and seales. But in the *interim*, no *Medium* being found wherby to compound the competitions of the Mediators, that matter was referred untill the day following.

Attestation granted to the *Polanders* by his Lordship, and the *Hollanders*.

The eighteenth meeting for the final conclusion being now come, the Lords Ambassadors of *Great Brittain* and *France* renewed their dispute about precedency; which encreasing in difficulty and intricacy seemed to hinder the parties (who were now reconciled and friends) from concluding and establishing the Treaty; for the avoiding wherof his Lordship was pleased to declare himself in two waies to the Commissioners of either side; first, that the difference might be ballanced by two Copies of the Conditions of the Treaty to each party, reciprocally signed by the Mediators. Or secondly, that there should be no Subscription or Signature by any of the Mediators, as had been done in the former Treaty now six years past. That as to the Preface he committed the same to them, but in discharge of his Legatoriall duty, he again admonished them to beware of giving any offence unto the King his Master. By the Commissioners of either side it was concluded that the Mediatoriall Subscription was not necessary, and that the Signature of the parties would be sufficient in this as well as in the former Treaty; but that the Mediators might if they would so be pleased, give an Instrument in writing apart, for the more ample verification therof.

Competitions renewed between the Mediators.

Mediatoriall subscription concluded unnecessary.

As to the preface, the *Suethes* declared in favour of the *French*, that it had ever been the Custome of their Crowne to

give the precedency in nomination to the Regall Ambassador who first addressed himselfe to them. With this answer his Lordship: opposed the stile (pretended) of the *Polish* Cancellarie; but was by their Commissioners, answered rather with silence than by arguments.

*The French insists on subscription.*

The *French* Ambassador did mainly insist that he might subscribe the Articles alone; but, that he might not (by contest) seeme to be the sole obstacle of the Treaties confirmation, he repaired to his Lordships quarter, with whom, when no persuasions to that end would prevaile, after a long discourse of the dignity and precedencie of Kings, he consented to the waving of all Mediatoriall subscription.

*Afterwards declines it.*

His Lordship nevertheless, to be secured of all sides, revisited each of the Parties, and in friendly manner desired them that as themselves had declared, and as he had newly concluded with the *French* Ambassador, no Subscription of the Mediators unlesse in the way by him propounded, might be admitted, whereunto they all accorded and gave their word.

*No subscription of Mediators promised.*

*The parties meet to conclude.*

This difference about the subscription being removed, the Commissioners of each side convened in the Mediatoriall Tent to the performance of the last act viz. the Signing of the Articles; whom the Mediators followed to be present at the reviewing of the same; least ought might be transacted wherein their Principalls might be concerned.

*The Articles signed.*

In the reading, the preface was omitted whereby no offence might be taken, and that worke being ended, the Mediators were in most respective manner desired to retire and leave them to signe alone: which they did; and upon their coming forth were by the Mediators congratulated, for that happy conclusion.

*Publike joygements.*

Thus, at length by the blessing of God upon the insatiable toile and industrie of the Mediators, this great and difficult worke, after so many desperate-seeming ruptures, was brought to a happy issue in twenty and foure severall meetings (accounting *ab initio*) and couched in so many severall Articles; which having been for the most part already touched, are forborne to be here inserted, and the curious referred to the printed Acts.

The whole was read, allowed, signed, and confirmed by the respective Commissioners of the interested Parties the 12<sup>th</sup> of September, An. 1635. and the joy thereof was conceived to be so great that publike acclamations were every where heard. At *Marienbourg* the whole Ordinance (about the Town and Castle) was discharged upon the returne of the Mediators with the Commissioners of *Sueithland*. Only the *French* Ambassador remained in *Stimbisdorff* to (refresh himselfe as preten-

pretended, but indeed to) send an account by expresse unto the King his Master.

The remainder of that day was by his Lordship and the *Hollanders*, employed in giving to the Commissioners of *Sue-* then the attestation desired by them concerningthole of the *Roman* Profession in *Leifland*, which had formerly been so hotly disputed, and was by them given to this effect.

His Lordship and the *Hollanders* give up the *Sueches* an attestation concerning *Catholicks* in *Leifland*.

That whereas there had been long and great dispute concerning the *Roman* Catholicks in *Leifland*; at length, the Queen and Crown of *Sueithand*, at the instant urgencies of the Commissioners of *Poland* had condescended so far as to permit to the *Roman* Catholicks in *Leifland*, liberty of Conscience, Religion, and Devotion in private; but least that from those words ought might be inferred; contrary to their intention in that point, over and above the meer liberty of conscience by them granted, or least that there might be pretended any Priestly exercise either publike or private, they the said Commissioners had many times in their presence excepted (by protestation) against all the formes including any word of exercise, either tacitely or expressed, and that the Lord Ambassadour of *France*, (who had most earnestly laboured therein) had propounded the same, and the Commissioners of *Poland* had assented therunto; in which Forme (or Draught) no mention of exercise was made, that so they might by some faire way explicate and free themselves from that contention: This, they the said Mediators did witnesse and confirme to all whom it might concern, under their hands and Seals.

Upon the day following the Generall of the *Sueithish* Forces, *Jacobus de la Garde*, with the Commissioners of that Crown, did visite his Lordship in a way of thankfull acknowledgment for his great paines and endeavours employed in the Treaty, and afterwards did the like to the *Hollanders*, concluding with a courteous invitation of them into the Castle that evening, where their entertainment was answerable to their Dignities.

His Lordship invited by the *Sueithes*,

The next day, his Lordship went to the *Polish* Leager, and was soon after followed by the *Hollanders* to take leave of that King, of whom he had publike audience in his Tent, the great Chancellour and the other fore-named Commissioners being present. That Ceremoniall Complementive farewell lasted not half an houre, wherein it was observed, that the King did not shew the same cheerfull countenance to his Lordship that he had formerly done, both at his first repair, and during the Treaty; and the Commissioners likewise expressed lesse courteous respects then at former times, which his Lordship took notice of, but knowing himself to be free from any desert thereof was the lesse troubled therat.

He takes leave of the King of *Poland* in his Camp.

Coldnesse discovered]

His

His Lordship (whilest in the Camp) was visited by the Waywood (or Palatine) of *Belskie*, whom, according to the Kings words at parting, he believed to have been sent with something in Commission, but found it to be only a private Complementall farewell.

French and  
Hollanders  
take leave.

The Army re-  
viewed.

In the interim, the States Ambassadors, as also the French Ambassador who had repaired thither from *Stumbsdorff*, took likewise severally their leave, but had each a longer audience according to information, and returned the next day to see the Army, which then was to be reviewed and drawn up into Battalia. His Lordship stayed that night in the Tent of Col. (afterwards Generall Major) *Butler*, as well to see the Army, as also, that he might there be ready to receive any further expressions, which according to the delivery at parting, he expected from the King.

Reference to  
what follows:

In the manner fore-mentioned, was transacted and concluded the Treaty for Truce for twenty six years (commencing in September 1635.) between the two Crownes of *Suethland* and *Poland*. What passages did afterwards befall, by reason of the French Ambassadors signing the *Poland*ers Counterpane or Copy of those Articles, at that Kings instance, by whom, contrary to former President, fore-mentioned agreement, and stipulation, they were to that end tendred unto the said Ambassador, as himself afterward acknowledged, as also great *Bristaines* Ambassadors expostulation, with some of the *Polish* Ministers in reference therunto, and the difference answering therupon between that King and his Lordship, are couched in the few subsequent Pages, wherein his Lordships life and death are commemorated, which now follow for a conclusion to the whole matter.

A

A BRIEF  
COMMEMORATION

Of the  
*L I F E* and *D E A T H*

O F S I R

GEORGE DUGLAS  
K N I G H T,

LORD Ambassadour Extraordinary from the late

*K I N G* of

E N G L A N D,

For concluding of *P E A C E* or *T R U C E*

B E T W E E N

S U E T H L A N D

A N D

P O L A N D.

*An. 1635.*

---

By *J. F.*

---

*L O N D O N,*

Printed for *Hen: Twyford* and *Tho: Dring*, 1656.

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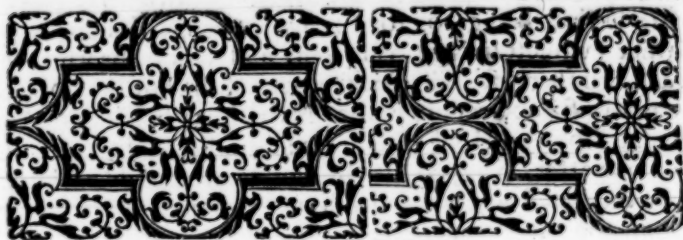
1911

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1911

1911

Printed for the University of Chicago Press



A brieſe  
**COMMEMORATION**  
 OF SIR  
**GEORGE DUGLAS** Knight,  
 Ambaſſador Extraordinary from the late  
 King of Great BRITTAINE, in the year 1635.  
 for the Treaty of Peace, between the Crowns of  
**POLAND,**  
 AND  
**SVETHEN.**



**H**AVING deduced the paſſages of the  
 preceding Treaty of Pacification be-  
 tween the two Crowns before mention-  
 ed, it may be not improper to annex ſom-  
 thing concerning that late honourable  
 Perſon, by whoſe indefatigable endea-  
 vours that good work was, in great part,  
 ſo happily effected : And the rather, in

*Preface con-  
 cerning his  
 Lordſhip.*

regard his name (albeit both ancient and honourable) de-  
 notes him to have been of a Neighbour Nation, and that there  
 are but few now living who can remember to have known  
 (I may ſay, ſcarce ſeen) his perſon appearing, in any way Con-  
 ſiderable, in the Court of great Brittain, by reaſon of his tra-  
 vells in ſundry yeares Militiating abroad, before his ſaid em-  
 ployment, and of his death immediately enſuing the ſame,  
 which prevented his returne.

K k k 2

He

*His birth.*

He was Native of *Scotland*, and descended from that branch of the honourable house of the *Duglasse* entitled the *Baronnie* of *Torthorrell*, being Son to Sir *George Duglasse* Knight, whose Father (whilest living) had been, and whose brother then was Lord thereof. His Mother was of the house of *Dundas*, a Family of good repute in that Nation, as being both Ancient and Noble. His Father came into *England* either with, or soone after, King *James*, bringing with him his Children (whether his Lady were then living I cannot say) *George*, of whom the present mention is made; *James*; and *Martha*, Since married to Sir *James Lockhart* of *Leigh* in *Scotland*, and then of the privy Chamber in Ordinary to the late King.

*Education.*

His Education (after some yeares spent in the Schooles) was at the Universitie of *Oxford* (if information erre not) and he so much a Schollar, as that the Latine tongue was familiar to him both by speech and pen, not onely for Ordinary but likewise for Elegant expressions; Neither was he ignorant of the *Greek*: But, thinking the Schooles an over soft course of exercise, he left them and betook himselfe to Armes, as more Sutable both with his Complexion and disposition.

*Entries into  
Military employment.*

He began his apprenticeship and continued his progresse in that honourable profession under that great and excellling Tutor in the art of war, the Invincible *Gustavus Adolphus*, for whose service he first transported a Company of Foot of his owne Nation, into *Swethland* about the yeare, 1623.

Under the Banner of that great Warriour (whom I have rightly tearmed invincible, as both living and dying such) he served sundry yeares: And that Prince being no Prodigall of Military preferment, he attained onely to the degree of Lieutenent Colonell of a Regiment of Foot (by which Title we will now call him untill Providence give him another) whereof Sir *James Ramsay*, was Colonell, the same *Ramsay*, who so gallantly afterwards, for some yeares, defended *Hanaw* against the whole Imperiall Force in those parts, untill releived by the then General Major *Lesley*, now Earle of *Leven*, and the said Colonell lying wounded of some hurt he had received at the Siege of the strong Castle of *Wirtzburg* (if my relation faile not) his Lieutenent Colonell Commanded the Regiment, and at the taking of *Creutznach*, (a strong Town in the Palatinate) was by the King Ordered to secure the same from those insolencies that might arise from the Souldier, which he did with such celerity and satisfaction, as that the King (who entred soone after) did in his owne breast, designe him to be Governour of that important place.

*Designed to be  
Governour of  
Creutznach.*

But before his Commission was issued, a reverse of fortune, of a Commander rendered him a Captive; For his Royall Generall

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1 Sac: M<sup>is</sup> Regn<sup>is</sup> Sveciæ etc<sup>æ</sup> Senator et Cancellarius ad Exere:  
 et per German: Sum<sup>a</sup> cum potest: Legat<sup>us</sup> ibid<sup>q</sup> fæder<sup>is</sup> Evang: Direct<sup>or</sup>:  
 Ill<sup>us</sup> D<sup>ns</sup> D<sup>ns</sup> Axelius Oxenstierna Lib: Baro in Kymitho D<sup>ns</sup> in  
 Fiholmen et Tydoen etc: Eques .

Generall, upon some mistake in an addresse of his, gave Order, for his restraint, which nevertheless continued long: for that Prince, who was wont some times to take provocations before the bound, understanding the Errour, commanded to release *Duglass*, and to deliver him a Commission for the foresaid Government, which Order he left with that great States man (the Nestor of *Suetland*) *Axelius Oxenstierna* Knight, free Baron of *Kymitho*, Lord of *Fiholmen* and *Tiden* &c. his Chancellour, whom he, at his hasty departure towards *Noremberg*, whither the necessity of that place, and his engagement, both by honour and promise invited him, had deputed to abide at *Francfort* on the Maine, for the regulating, by his great Prudence, of the affaires in those parts of Germany.

*Falls into the Kings displeasure.*

It may be thought that our Lieutenant Colonell had cause to rest contented, having received ample satisfaction, by a preferment so honourable, which also might have proved but a step to greater: But he, who likewise was not exempt from the boylings of passion, was resolved to admit of no reparation as not enduring ought which he conceived to be an affront, from what hand soever it came. Or rather, we may (more Christian like) conclude, that God, who had numbred his dayes, having decreed that before his Exit hence, he should quit those Courses that impelled to the effusion of blood, and enter upon such as were more acceptable to himselfe, by being instrumentall in preventing the same in others; and that having been sundry yeares usefull in Warrs, which the spirit of discention raiseth between Princes, he should close up the remainder by being actually instrumentary for peace between jarring Kingdomes: The same God, (I say) who createth the fruit of the lips, Peace, and is the Lover and Author of Peace and Concord, had otherwise disposed of him.

*Seldoms subject to passion.*

The Commission for the foresaid Government was tendred unto him, but (the meanes being appointed to the end by providence designed) was by him refused and a pass demanded, which the Chancellour enquired into the cause of, telling him withall he could not grant it: yet, *Duglass* still persisting, the Chancellour (who loving him, had used both reasons and perswasions to divert him from his purpose, and could not prevaile) afforded him a *Foreloff*, being a concession of vacancy for some time from his charge, during which he might repair to the King & obtain his pass if it should be thought fit.

*Refuseth the foresaid Government.*

About the same time *Sir Henry Vane* Knight, Comptrollor of the household to the late King, and one of his privy Counsell, being by him sent, his Ambassador Extraordinary to the King of *Swethen*, and then upon his journey toward that Prince, came to *Erancfort* aforesaid: To him our Lieute-

*Takes shelter  
under Eng-  
lands Ambaf-  
sador.*

*Presents him-  
self to the King  
at Noremberg.*

nant Colonel makes his addresse, desiring that under his protection he might repaire unto the King, from whom (his Judgment might suggest unto him) he could not but expect a frown, which favour was not denied by his Lordship, who, having refreshed himself and his Train there for some daies, set forward, accompanied by our Lievtenant Colonel, and in short time arrived at Noremberg, where the King of Suetland (with his Army) then lay.

The first presentment *Duglass* made of himself, was at the instant of his Arrivall, in the *Tennis-Court* of Noremberg, wherein the two Kings of *Suetland* and *Bohemia* were then exercising themselves: And here it may be conceived not unlikely, but that the Chancellour had given his great Master notice, as well of the arrivall of the Ambassadour of great *Brittaine*, as of the defection of the Lievtenant Colonel, yet meerly out of his duty of acquainting the King with all passages, even of the least concernment, and not intentionally, as may be judged, to procure the Gentleman any prejudice, to whom he had alwaies shewed such faire, and more then common respects, as he was by his Camarades in Armes frequently called (either in jest or envy) the Chancellours Favourite.

*Again commi-  
ted.*

The King had no sooner eyed him but he was affected with Choller, and after he had demanded of him why he was not at his Charge, and by the other answered that he had none, or to that effect, with some other brief passages; He ordered the Lievtenant Colonel to be forthwith committed, which was immediatly done.

It may be conceived that great *Brittaines* Ambassadour was herewith but little pleased, and might think not onely himself, but his Master likewise concerned, that one of his Subjects intending for his Country, and to that end coming to crave his dismission, under the Protection of his own Prince in the person of his Representative, should therefore be restrained: Yet from our Lievtenant Colonel, the Relator (who had it from himself) heard not that he suddainly moved therein, whether willing to let the first heat over-passe; or that his main and much of businesse, for such an inch of time, at his first interviews diverted him.

That King understanding within few daies, that some of the Enemies Forces intended an On-slaught into his Quarters, or bound upon some other private, if not the like designe, gave order for two thousand Horse to be in a readinesse the next morning (a fure signe that himself would command that party) which was done accordingly, and himself already in Coach, the Lord Ambassadour then present (who had discoursed with him of other Affaires) being about to take leave, moved the release of our Lievtenant Colonel, but the King suddainly

*His release  
moved by the  
Ambassadour.*

suddenly passionate, gave him an answer so lofty and trenching upon his Master, as might have been better spared, and shall therefore be here omitted: Nor was his Lordship wanting to reply in such a manner as became his Courage, and like a person of honour representing his Prince.

As the great *Gustavus* was subject to flashes of passion which were the onely Clouds in his Hemisphere, and thereby would (not seldome) give offence, so, had he those speedy recollections; the best badge of a good disposition, as permitted him not to retain them, but that present acknowledgment and satisfaction ensued, as indeed it did here, and so fully as was not little, from a Prince, succesfull and great in Armes and Renown, which usually elate even most equally tempered Spirits: But as the expressions that were distastfull, so likewise, the acknowledgment shall be here forborne, there being the same reason for the one as the other: Only this may be said, that before he left the City he commanded our *Duglafs* to be enlarged.

*Duglafs released.*

The King being gone whither the Emergencies of his Affaires called him, and no expectation of his return, his Lordship, who had (as may be conceived) improved his time for the delivery of what he had in charge, resolved neither to follow nor expect him back, but to repaire for *England*, as he did soon after, accompanied by the Lievtenant Colonel, who for some time whilest at *England's* Court, was by his honourable Patron made known and recommended, not only to the great Ones, but to the King likewise.

*Return for England.*

The King of *Sweden* returning back to *Noremberg*, and after severall accidents incident to War, by the accession of a gallant Army, consisting of six and twenty thousand fresh men, conducted by the Reicks Chancellor *Oxienshiere*, the two Brothers of Saxon *Weyman*, the Landgrave *Will. of Hessen* and General *Banner*, having re-inforced his own, before Coopt up (in a manner) by the numerous powers of the Imperialists; did now range more at large, and the Forces of both sides came so near each other, as they could not part without a Battell, which was (soon after) fought neer unto a Town called *Lutzen*, where the Imperiall Army commanded by the most Imperious *Wallenstein* Duke of *Friedland*, had the advantage of the ground, wch the *Swedes* were constrained to gain from them at push of Pike and had the better: The Sun befriended neither party, being all the morning (as unwilling to behold that daies effusion of blood) obscured by a Mist, when *Picolomenie*, another of the *Austrian* Generals, brought to the imperialists relief two thousand fresh Horse, the Riders all clad in hard Iron, which the Royall *Sweth* perceiving, taking with him a strong party, he called to the Duke of Saxon *Lauenburg*, saying, Cousin let us charge

*Lutzen feild;*

charge

*The King of  
Suehland  
slaine.*

charge those black men home, for those are they will otherwise ruine us, which himself did in person so vigorously (by leading on his owne Troopes to the hottest dispute of that whole day) as he brought Victory to his own side, but purchased at a sad and dear rate, even the life of that great Heroe. On the Imperiall side (beside many others) was Felt Marshall Pappenheim Slaine, one of the most esteemed Commanders amongst the Imperiall Generals; and of the most honourable deportment toward those whom the chance of War did cast into his hands: who is also said, to have been fore-told that the King of *Suehen* and himself should fall both in one day.

*The Suehen  
win the Feild.*

Thus died the Renowed *Gustavus* of *Suehen*, in the bed of Honour, if he may be said to die; whose Fame cannot: His loss was for the present prudently concealed by the Cheiftains who were neereest to his fall; amongst whom was Duke *Bernard* of *Saxon Hymar*, who that day gave a fair encrease to the glorious repute he afterwards constantly maintained; and the Kings death by the great courage and gallant conduct of himself and the other Commanders who were then next unto the King, was so well revenged, as that the *Suehen* remained not only Masters of the Feild, and of the dead bodies, but likewise so dissipated the Forces of the Enemy, as they could not in a long time recollect such another Army.

*Some months  
dead ere he be-  
lieved.*

This Prince being thus taken away in his flower and strength of years, it was a good space of time, ere the neighbour Nations would beleive he was not still in the number of the living, as it so great a person could not have moved hence, but that like an universall Earth-quake he must have borne a whole World before him. Reports were various, according to the affections and disaffections of men to his Person and Greatnesse, and it is truly affirmed, that at the Court of *England*, Wagers were layed of his being alive, sundry months after the first news of his death.

But ere long it was confirmed that his great Soul, having quitted the inclosure of his body, had changed his Militancy here below, for a Mansion more peaceable and Glorious above, and had verified that saying of the Divine Spirit by the Kingly Prophet, who having recorded that the great Ones of the World are Gods, hath neverthelesse pronounced that they shall dye like men, and that Princes shall fall as others.

*King of Bohe-  
mia deceased  
soone after.*

The King of *Bohemia* did not long overlive the loss of this second *Alexander*, but deceased soon after at *Mentz*: His eldest Son, *Charles Lodowicke* Prince Elector Palatine, being then in Minority, his Uncle, the Duke of *Simmern*, was, by consent, constituted Administrator of his right in the Palatinate. The death of King *Gustavus*, who (whilest living) had been the Head and Director General of the Protestant League

in

in *Germany* and so entitled, notwithstanding that his losse was alleviated by Victory, caused a great alteration in the affaires of that confedracy, and in the Councells of the Princes thereof; so that it behoved them, to call a Dyet or Generall Assembly, as they did soone after at *Heylbrun* in the Dukedome of *Wertenberg*, consisting of foure Principall Circles of the Empire, *viz.* the *Franconian*, *Suevian*, with the upper and lower Circles of the *Rhyne*; there were personally present the Duke and the Administrator of *Wirttemberg*, the Marquesse of *Baden*, the Count of *Hanaw*, with most of the seventeen Earles of the *Wetteraw*: *Lodowick Phillip* Duke of *Simmern*, Administrator of the Palatinate, for his Nephew the Prince Elector Palatine, then of under years, had there foure Commissioners; of whom, Colonell *Pebnitz* (being chiefe) sate above all the Princes, at the upper end of the Table; all the Propositions were directed to him; and he, in right of the Elector Palatine, had the opening of all Letters, which was an absolute concession of the Electorall Title and Dignity, and as great an Exauthorization of the *Bavarian* and his pretences as that Assembly could give.

Protestant Dyet  
or Assembly.

For the effecting hereof, the prudent intervention of Sir *Robert Ansruther*, Lord Ambassador Extraordinaire from great *Brittaine* to that Dyet, who had with good approbation discharged the like high trust under King *James* and the late King to severall Princes of *Germany*, to the King of *Denmarke*, as also to the Emperor (*Intervallatim*) by the space of thirteene yeares was not meanly prevalent. There were present besides, the Ambassadors of other Princes, and the Deputies of the Imperiall Cities in the forenamed foure Circles, as *Noremberg*, *Strasburg*, *Francefort*, *Auspurg* and others: the Lord Chancellour *Oxenstierna* also, whose Title in this Dyet Councillor, Chancellor, and Extraordinary Ambassador for the most Illustrious and High borne, the Hereditarie Heyte and Princessse of the Crown of *Suetthen*: The restitution of the Palatinate (*ad integrum*) was decreed in this Dyet, and for the regaining of some places, as yet possessed by the Enemy, the Chancellor engaged his word, as General of all the Forces; which charge he having modestly refused at the first offer, accepted at the second: Whereupon the direction of the whole War and affaires of State was committed unto him, in the name of the Imperiall States and the Crown of *Suetthen*.

Countenanced  
by Englands  
Ambassador.

Neither did this Union receive small luster by the conjunction of the French King, represented by the Marshall *de Feuquier* there present; As also by the Declaration of the Duke Elector of *Brandenburg*, which followed soone after, in favour of what there transacted: Account of the whole passages of that Assembly, but especially of that restitutionary

And by the  
French and  
Brandenburg.

M m m

decree,

decree, was by his Lordship (upon his returne to *Francfort*) sent into *England* by Mr. *Richard Harft*; One and the First of his Secretaries.

*Land-grave of Darmstadt solicited in vaine.*

His Lordships Negotiation with the *Landgrave of Darmstadt*, to whom he soone after repaired for the gaining of his concurrence with that Assembly, was uneffectual, albeit he left no stone unmoved; But interest and ambition are maine obstacles to the attaining of just desires: That *Landgrave* had been much entrusted by the house of *Austria*, and in recompence of his affection was (by the same) invested with the spoiles of his Neighbours. Two Mannours (or Lordships) belonging to the House *Palatine* had been committed into his or his Fathers hands, by the late King of *Bohemia*, they being then good friends; but disputes, arising afterwards between them, grew to a quarrell; whereupon Count *Mansfeldt* invading the *Landgraves* Countrey, took him prisoner, and so detained him certaine dayes; but his liberty being regained, and the Emperors affaires prospering, he procured, as a recompence for his sufferings, a grant from the Emperor, not onely of those two Mannours, but of severall other Lands likewise, belonging to the Counts of *Solmes*, *Isenberg*, *Lewensteyne*, and others, followers and domesticks of the Prince Elector *Palatine*.

*Saxons Elector likewise makes the conjunction.*

The Elector Duke of *Saxony*, one of whose Daughters the foresaid *Land-Grave* had Married, was next Solicited by great *Brittaines* Ambassador; yet, neither would he joyn in the Transactions of *Heylbrun*, or in the attribution of the Electoral Title, Dignity, or Possessions to the yong Prince *Palatine*, nor afford the Title of Administrator to his Uncle the Duke of *Simmern*: Albeit, as he professed to his Lordship, he did not omit the same out of any want of respect to the King his Master, or of affection to the House *Palatine*, but as not having (then) consulted the States of his Countrey, which (as he said) it was necessary for him to do, before he could performe so publike an Act, and that he hoped to obtaine the same by Treatie. Whereby the Troubles of *Germany* (as he conceived) would sooner be ended. Hereupon Replies were reiterated, but nothing (save words) gained.

The King of *Swethens* death seemed to have much altered that Elector from his former professed intentions: But it was indeed conceived that he the rather declined those rights to the house *Palatine*, to worke a concession, from the young Prince, unto his said Son in Law, of the two forementioned Mannours: Next, that himselfe might enjoy the Chiefe direction of Affaires amongst the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, which of right belonged to the house *Palatine*; As also to thwart what the Circles had done in the Assembly at *Heylbrun*, with the particular account of the Electorall and *Land-gravian* Treaties,

Treaties, the Relator was by his Lordship sent for England from *Dresden* that Electors Chiefe and Residentiall City.

In the mean time the Confederate Princes and Cities, having constituted amongst themselves a *Directorium*, or settled Counsell, for the better carrying on of the Work, gave the Presidency thereof as aforesayd to the Great Chancellour of *Suethe* *Axelius Oxenstierna*, as well in contemplation of the merits of that late Great Monarch, as of the necessity they still had to retaine the assistance of the *Suethe*, untill the interest of the Princes and Cities of that Union, and of the House Palatine, together with that of the whole body of the German Protestants, might be settled, either by Treaty or otherwise, and not the least, in regard of the great Sagacity and deep insight in the managing of Affaires, acquired by a long experimented practice, and grounded upon the Rock of a most sound and well fortified judgment, wherewith that great Personage was endowed.

*Oxenstierna*  
director of the  
Protestant Af-  
faires in Ger-  
many.

The various sucresse of the Armies and their continuance, drawing upon the associated Princes Circles and Cities, a vast expence of Treasure, wherby those Countries became exhausted, and the Palatinate being upon its restitution assessed at a monthly Contribution; which (howbeit lesse in proportion then the other Contributory Countries were rated at) that devastated Principality was not able to furnish; the late King was solicited in deficiency of his Nephews Estate, yet no way therto obliged by any Stipulation or other Act publike or private, so cautiously had his fore-named Minister managed his Masters Interest. Hereupon, by the Privy Counsell of England, it was thought meet that some one should be sent over to scrutinize into the condition of the Palatinate, as also into the reportments of the *Suethe*; concerning whom, I may say upon certain knowledge that during the Assembly at *Heylbrun* (as also before and after) the Chancellour made great expressions of respect to his Majesty and his Relations in Germany, the reality wherof was not meanly testified by the free restitution of the Palatinate, after their King had recovered the same from the Spaniard, and by his promise that the Forces then before *Frankendak* (if I mistake not) and *Heidelberg* should not be withdrawn, but re-inforced; untill those two strong Peices were likewise regained, which he performed at his return to *Francfort*, by sending the Prince *Birkenfeldt* with six thousand Foot and Horse to their recruit, wherby those places being surrendred by the Enemy, were by him, as the rest had been, delivered into the hands of the Electorall Administrator.

The Palatinate  
exhausted.

Recovered; and  
entirely restored  
to the Electoral  
Administrator.

But to return from whence I have not unnecessarily digressed; the *Suethe* and the Confederate Princes fell, not long after

Confederates  
defeated at  
Ratisbona.

ter

ter into a decadence of fortune; for the Cardinall *Infanta* with an Army of old tryed Souldiers, though bent for *Flanders*, taking *Germany* in his way, and joyning with the Imperiallists neer the City of *Norglingen*, the Associates by this Conjunction received a great defeat, wherein most of their Ensigns were seised, their Commanders either slain or taken, of which latter Calamity their brave Generall *Gustavus Horne* was partaker.

Their retreat  
into the Palatinate.

Duglass  
Knighted and  
sent Agent in  
to Germany.

Digression concerning Sir Robert Anstruther.

The scattered reliicks found no sure retreat, untill they recovered the formerly wasted Palatinate, under Duke *Bernard of Weymar*, where deprived of Colours and Commanders, they continued (in a manner) without Discipline, so as that Country was in a most sad condition, and *England* thereupon solicited as afore said the Counsell, wherof judging it expedient to send an Agent thither, the fore-named Lievtenant Colonel *Duglass* was made choice of, as one who in his reports would not be over partiall; and he being first dignified with the Honour of Knight-hood, accordingly received Credentials and Instructions.

The fore-mentioned Ambassador, Sir *Robert Anstruther*, who after his departure from *Saxony*, had been with the *Elect*or of *Brandenburg* at *Berlin*, and from thence with the *Queen* of *Sweden* at *Wolofst*, to condole the death of the *King* her Husband, whose body was then to be transported into *Sweden*, and had likewise been with the Duke of *Holstein*, and the *Dutcheffe Dowager* his Mother, as also with the *King* of *Denmark*: Treating with sundry of that Kings Counsell, who were thereunto appointed; he intimated unto them (omitting particulars not so necessary to be here inserted) that their Masters Conjunction with the *Protestant Princes* of *Germany*, would much conduce to the generall tranquillity, as without which the Emperour and his adherents would hardly be moved to constant and universall Peace in the Empire, but rather hope, that the Divisions and Separations of those Princes and States would be apt to produce unto him new advantages. They (after much reasoning) acknowledged it was most necessary, but prayed him to consider the hazards their *King*, their Country, and themselves had in the last Wars been exposed unto; so as had they not made a peace with the Emperour, they might by that time have gone a begging with their Wives and Children: And that having thus made their Peace, they ought not in equity to be the breakers of it; the rather for that their Master was now acting the Mediators part: They wished that *Saxony* were really (as *Brandenburg* was) united in the Alliance of *Heylbrun*, the better to Ballance the Affaires there, whereby a good Peace (which their Master was still ambitious to be an Instrument of) might more probably be expected.

His

His Lordship urged no lesse to their King himself, upon occasion of some discourse (soon after) of the then present state of Germany; and the King expressing how much he longed to see a good Peace established; He replied, that his Majesties Authority and Power (if interposed) with the Duke of Saxony, might be very usefull for obtaining of the wished end in that Conjunction; and that if the three Protestant Electors and their Houses were firmly linked together, by a perfect friendship and sence of common Interest, they would soon grow so considerable, as that other Princes would be glad of their Association: And then Cæsar himself would (in all likelyhood) the better hearken to reasonable Conditions of Peace, besides many other good effects which (he inferred) might ensue so happy a Conjunction: The King professed to concur with his Lordship in opinion, yet not without objecting some impediments. But I shall wave further insisting hereupon; This, as not material to the Subject mainly here intended, being onely to shew how far England did then interest it self in the Protestant cause of Germany, and the concerns of its Allies there. His Lordship returning to Hamburg to expect further Orders, was soon after re-manded back to Francfort on the Mayne, to interpose his Masters Authority as cause should be offered.

That Kings eldest Son had then lately married a Daughter of that Duke:

Return We now to Sir George Duglass, who (there met with his Lordship, and) during his Agency in the Palatinate, had given an account so satisfactory, as well in order to that Electorall Principality and its condition, with the whole state of Affaires relative to that concernment, as of the Associated Princes and Cities, and likewise of the Suetbiers, as was well relished at home, and thereby gained to himself the opinion of one capable of a greater and more weighty Negotiation: And as, if all things should conduce to his advancement; it so fell out that the expiration of a six years Truce, concluded (as hath been said) by the intervention of Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador from the late King, An. 1629. between the Crownes and Kings of Poland and Suetben, was then drawing neer; and the late King was by the Polander again solicited, to the same effect, with intimation of a desire of neerer conjunction by Alliance.

Duglass acquits himself satisfactorily.

This motion was plausible, and the more credulous of Englands Court, were thereby wrought to cry up that Kings Cause; albeit the same (his Turne once served) proved but a Fucus, and like an Apparition vanished into Aire. For this employment of no mean moment, Sir George Duglass, then Agent in Germany as aforesaid, was thought a fit Minister; and the rather, because having formerly served the late King of Suetbland, in those parts he was not unacquainted with their interests in Prussia and Leisland, and might accordingly make

And is designed Ambassador in to Poland.

use of arguments to induce them to a moderate and equitable compliance, it being conjectured that they would not easily be won to restore either (much lesse both) of those rich and fertile Provinces; but as to any resignation of the Crown of *Suetland*, which the *Polander* claimed as his Hereditary Right, it was fore-seen, that however the same might be brought upon the Carpet, it could not be with any hope of concession.

Credentials and  
Instructions  
sent to Dug-  
lals.

Credentials and Instructions were then drawn up, and sent enclosed within a dispatch to the fore-named Ambassadour Sir *Robert Anstruther*, to be by him delivered (as was forthwith done) unto Sir *George Duglass*, whereby the Title of Lord Ambassadour Extraordinary from the King of Great *Brittaine*, to the Kings and Crownes of *Poland* and *Suetland* became due unto him. In this new Condition, his first work was to furnish himself with Necessaries and Attendants suitable to that high Employment, into the number wherof he was pleased to desire the Relator from Sir *Robert Anstruther*, of whose Secretaries he then was; and in the same capacity, entertained him for that Embassy, which is only mentioned to shew the ground he had for the present and precedent Narrative.

Enters upon his  
commission by  
visiting the  
Chancellour of  
*Sueten*.

Whilest some weeks of time were spent in such like preparations, Letters of safe conduct and Convoyes were desired from the Generals of the opposite Armies, through part of which we were necessitated to passe: His Lordship (in the interim) made entry upon his Commission, by visiting the great Chancellour of *Sueten*, *Axelius Oxenstiern*, at *Altena*, and by delivering to him the Letters he had from his Master, directed to the said Chancellour, and to his Son *Juhn Oxenstiern*, (who sometime before had been employed as Ambassadour into *England*, from himself as President, and in the name of the fore-mentioned *Directorium*, or great Counsell of the Protestant Associated Princes and Cities of *Germany*) which Letters he received with great testimony of respect and thankfulness, for the honour thereby done unto him, expressing the same at length and with great Eloquence: And as concerning his Son, he much rejoyced at his Majesties expressions of favour towards him, both in this and at the time of his being in *England*, albeit it were over-long to tell the Condoleances he used for the frigidnesse (as he termed it) his Son then found in relation to his Employment; but this, having proceeded partly from things already glanced at, I forbore to insist upon: He further insinuated how glad he was of his Lordships being employed in a businesse that so much concerned their Prince and Country, of whose integrity they had formerly received so good proof.

Yet it is not improbable, and his Lordship did so conceive, that they would, not unwillingly, have declined our intervention, if it had been in their power, knowing that *Englands* interest in the point of Trade and Commerce (on which their Toll in the *Baltick* Sea lay so heavy) would bring him in to crosse their designes, and pull from them a Bit which they had found so sweet, as they were loth to part with.

The Chancellor began (then) to discourse of the Treaty that was to ensue, wherein he demonstrated, at length, the difficulties that would occur, even at the first meetings, touching Ceremonies and Titles, as hath plentifully appeared in that Treaties Narration. He afterwards insisted upon the trouble the main businesse would produce, being no lesse then the question of a Kingdome, and of the strangest nature that had been disputed in many Ages, wherby those that were strangers and not vers't in the fundamentall Rights, the ancient Priviledges, and *Jus Suecorum*, would (he said) come in a manner with prejudicate minds, sympathizing with their own Governments, which, as they would not presume to judge of, but leave every one to their own, so he hoped that others would do the like to them, and not expect that they should let fall a Controversie which had cost them so much treasure and blood, for any arguments drawn from the opinions and example of others, which concerned not them, they being to take their own way, and to follow their particular grounds to the last drop of blood.

*The Chancellors  
discourse.*

What he set forth of the wrongs they had suffered under King *Sigismundus*, which had constrained them to the extreamest courses, may be guessed by such as shall have read the first part of this Treatise, and therefore needs here no repetition. As to King *Vladislaws* then Raigning (in *Poland*) he having, he said, no right but from his Father, had lost all in him, and with what arguments he alleadged that his pretensions were lesse valid, at that present, then his Fathers in his life-time, were over tedious here to relate.

His Lordship (on the other side) was not wanting in replies, but shewed that extreame Counsells have extreame Events; that Obstinate Warrs were ever accompanied with troubles and Calamities; and alwayes heavy, even to the prevailing side, that as their issues were uncertaine, so their vicissitudes many, whereof themselves had already received sufficient proofes: That as the vertues of the present King *Vladislaws* were to be respected, so his Forces and that great Successe which had (but late before) attended him against most potent Enemies, was no lesse to be feared, besides many other respects which might induce them to steere (at least) a middle course.

*His Lordships  
reply.*

The

The restitution of such Territories as they had won by their Armes, was likewise touched upon in their discourses, which his Lordship found to be by them taken for so good a Title as they were not like to give back for a Song. They parted with great fairenesse; the one professing much thankfulness, affection, and all other respects to the King of great Brittain and his Allies: the other assuring him of all reciprocal and respective offices, to the young Queene and Crown of *Suethen*, from his Master and every Minister of his. Here with his Lordship returned to *Francfort*.

*Their farewell.*

*His Lordship takes journey from Francfort.*

*Is entertained at Hanaw.*

His traine and equipage being in a readinesse; his Lordship began his journey from *Francfort* in December, 1634; having taken leave of the Ambassador Sir *Robert Anstirther*, with all possible expressions of mutuall respect and affection, and was met before he came to *Hanaw* (a great and strong Citie about three Leagues distant) by Sir *James Ramsay* (before-named) Governour thereof, attended with foure Troopes of Horse; the whole Garrison in Armes (the great Ordnance upon the walls also going off) from the Gate to the Governours Quarter, where his Lordship was lodged, during foure dayes of his aboad there, to dispatch an Expreffe for *England*. The Governour, howbeit but late before his Commander, as hath been touched, not disdayning to hold the Towell to his Lordship at washing before meales, as to the Representer of his Prince; which office he would perforce and did performe, his Lordship in vaine opposing it.

*Entertained by the Elector of Brandenburg.*

Departing from *Hanaw*, He made no Halt untill he arrived at *Berlin*, the Electorall Court of *Brandenburg*; where, by that Prince, he was lodged in the Palace, and, for eight dayes that that he stayed there, was entertained with all the Magnificencie that might testify an entire respect to the King his Master.

Between his Electoral Highnesse and his Lordship, there passed some Communication upon the points like to occur in the *Prussian* Treaty, between the principall Parties, as also what concerned his own Interest, which suffered but overmuch every where: After the *Curialia* by word of mouth, the Elector returned a large Memoriall in writing, in answer of some heads propounded by his Lordship, by all which it was easie to perceive, what the Chancellour had before intimated, that there would not want difficulties to bring the businesse to an equall accord: for they who had been hitherto on the losing hand, would be loth to sit by it still; nor the adverse party lesse unwilling (as was conceived) to quit ought already gotten, but on termes not much to the others honour: for which cause the King of *Poland*, having a good Army in readinesse, was then personally at *Dantzic*, to take order for all provisions

provisions necessary, giving out, that he would either have a perpetuall Peace, or else declare the War: And here his Lordship received information, that he was by that King expected with much longing.

From *Berlin* his Lordship came to *Stettin* in *Pomerania*, the old Duke wherof (being sick) he visited him not, but sent a civill Messlage to his Counsell by Monsieur *Philip Freherr*, his Secretary for the Dutch and Latine Tongues, whom he also sent from thence into *Suetland*, with the King his Masters Letters to the designed Queen *Christina*, and one from himself likewise, wherein he excused his not attending her Majesty in person, by reason of the Winter already advanced, and the time for the commencing of the Treaty neer approaching: the like he also did to certain of the *Grandeess* there, with whom he had been formerly acquainted.

comes to Stettin in Pomerania.

Leaving *Stettin* he arrived at *Dantzic* the ninth of January, 1634, and after some daies of refreshment for himselfe and Traine, having sustained so tedious a Winter journey, his Lordship buckled himself to the Treaty already begun at a Town in that Province of *Prussia* named *Holland*, the passages of which Treaty, having been deduced at large in the preceding Narrative, shall be here passed over, and those things proceeded unto which afterwards fell out.

To Dantzic.

In the close of that Treaties Narration, it was shewed that his Lordship (at his taking leave of the King of *Poland* in his Camp) had observed some alteration in the countenance of that King, and those about him; but that, knowing no cause to have been given by himself, he was the lesse troubled therat, thinking it onely to be some little Cloud which would soon vanish: yet staying that night in the Camp, he (for the more speedy removing therof) sent the next morning to the Lord *Casimowski*, great Chamberlaine of *Poland*, to desire a private Audience of the King, which was promised, and that notice should be given him of the time, but performance did not ensue; wherupon having seen the Army drawn into *Batalia*, he retired to *Marienburg*.

The *French* Ambassadour, who had received (as hath beene touched) a more friendly farewell, came likewise to *Marienburg* the day following; and his Lordship having heard, that contrary to the publike agreement of the Commissioners and the Mediating Ministers, he had (in the Regal Tent) under Signed that Copy of the Articles given by the *Suetbes* to those of *Poland*, did send the Relator with his Dutch Secretary forenamed, to know of himself whether it were so or not: which he acknowledged to have done, at the instance of that King, who (he said) presented the Copy unto him, *Propria manu*:

French Ambassador Signs the Articles of the Treaty.

O o o

Our

His Lordship  
offended,

Our Ambassadour understanding it, was not a little moved at the indignity offered to his Master thereby, but rather to themselves, as being done contrary to their publike Stipulation, and therupon visiting the *Suebisch* Commissioners, he desired they would not admit of the like, which they assured him of, as having already dispatched their Instrument of the said Articles into *Suebland* by an Expreffe.

Expostulates  
sorely with  
Zavatzkie.

Before his Lordship removed from *Marienburg*, the Lord *Zavatzkie* came to him, pretending only a visit, but sent (as was conceived) of purpose to explore whether he had any inkling of what had been done, and how he resented the same. To him our Ambassadour could not so well containe himself, but that he entred into expostulations so high as gave no small distast; taxing them of swarving from things by themselves consented unto and agreed upon in publike, and of silence in others, which they (not We) had propounded, and (seemingly) sought after, the particulars wherof, as not necessary to be here inserted, are forborn: Adding withall, that after so unworthy a requitall of his Masters affection and respects testified to their King and Crown, he could do no lesse in duty then to give those advertisements that were requisite.

By him smoothed  
with promise  
of satisfaction  
not performed.

*Zavatzkie* heard him with patience, and with fair words endeavoured to pacifie and to confirm in his Lordship a belief of the King his Masters sincere and reall affection towards his Majesty of Great Brittain, with his constant persevering in his former intentions, of which the said Lord had from the King of *Poland*, been the first Intimator and Propounder, telling him withall, that undoubtedly there behoved to be some mistake in the report he had received, for otherwise, he said, it could not be but that himself being usually so neer the King, and of his Secretaries, should have known somewhat thereof, desiring withall, that his Lordship would not precipitate any advertisement unto the King his Master, and assured him that he would forthwith post unto their Court, where having understood the matter fully, he would by Letters, or a speedy personal return, faithfully certifie his Lordship of the truth, either there or at *Dantzic* within few daies.

He returned to  
Dantzic.

Towards that Citie his Lordship retired soone after, daily expecting the effects of the promises forementioned, but in vaine: Neverthelesse upon *Zavatzkie's* perswasions, and his owne unwillingnesse to render ill-offices by the returne of any report, as being desirous that some Apology might have come, for cleering those doubts which their late proceedings and coldnesse had given him cause to harbour, whereby any distance or disaffection, between the two Kings, might be prevented, he desisted for the space of three weekes to send home any account of that Treaties issue, contrary to the faithfull

Delays advertising.

faithfull advice of some neere about him; who, as much as with fitting respect they might, urged a present dispatch of that relation into *England*, as a thing most necetiary, not onely for satisfaction to the State and the great Persons therein concerned, but likewise for his owne discharge; Instancing also the *French* Ambassador, who would not stirr from *Stumbdorff* (the Village where the Treaty had been concluded) untill he had by an expresse into *France*, sent a Narrative of that whole affaire; But to all this he sent a deafe Eare. At *Dantzic* he received, soone after, a *Honorarium* or Present from the *Eastland* Company, by the hand of Mr. *Richard Inkes* their Secretarie, in acknowledgment of their gratitude for his Recall endeavours in behalfe of that Societies restorement to their former freedome of Trade.

Yet nothing lesse then was promised, was by the *Polander* intended; in stead whereof (advantage of his Credulity being taken) a strong complaint against his Lordship was sent into *England*; which, for the time, gave an evill relish of him to his Master: The First notice he had of their distast was by a letter from the Lord *Andrea Key*, Starost of *Libonza*, dated the twenty fourth of *September* 1635. who, repeating the very words of his Lordships expostulation with *Zavatzkie*, closed them up, with this expression; viz. That if any such were spoken, he wished they never had been: Whereunto his Lordship returned an answer the sixth of *October* following, with so cleer a vindication of himselfe, but in such a stile as seemed his Ambassadoriall Office, as might have given them (in reference to him) ample satisfaction; yet without sparing againe to represent his sence of their more unfaire then expected or deserved dealing.

Receives notice  
by letter of Po-  
lands distast.

About this time, or not long after, Mr. *Richard Gordon*, Great Brittaines Agent for those parts (who, in *June* foregoing, had been by that King sent for *England*) returned to *Dantzic* and thence to the *Polish* Parliament at *Warsovia*, held in *November*, 1635. his Lordship not thinking fit to repaire thither in Person, untill the former misunderstandings were removed. Yet would he not omit to write by him to the Lord *Palatine* of *Belzkie*, as also to the forenamed *Starost* de *Libonza*; intimating to each, the continuance of his Masters good affection toward their King, as they would perceive by his answers to all their propositions sent by Mr. *Gordon*, and that the same merited a better acknowledgment then was given at the conclusion of the late Treaty, wherby he professed himself to be discouraged from undertaking a journey to the present Parliament, notwithstanding the Orders he had received, but was willing rather to refer the whole matter to Mr. *Gordon*, untill the jealousies he had reason to conceive were cleared.

Englands A-  
gent returns to  
Dantzic.

Sent unto the  
Parliament at  
Warsaw.

It

Two Errors  
in one.

It hath been said, that, perswaded by the Lord *Zavatzkie*, his Lordship had forbore to advertise home for three weekes Space; and it is to be added, that those letters being sent by Sea (Subject to the inconstancy of winds, and the movings of that other uncertain Element) were above six weekes longer before they came to the hands they were directed unto; Whereupon (confused rumours of things coming to those, who in *England* bore a chief sway in managing of the late Kings Privy Counsell) Sir *John Coke* principall Secretary of State, did by Letter taxe his Lordship of remissness in his dispatches, shewing that from *France*, they understood the Treaty was concluded, and that he had received some disgust, but the particulars they were not acquainted with: Hereby he first perceived that in one and the same thing he had committed two (not small) errors.

Grudges covered the King and his Lordship meet.

A mandate obtained in behalfe of the Eastland Merchants.

But in time all grudges being either buried, or (seemingly) layed to sleep, and the King of *Poland* coming to *Dantzic*, his Lordship had severall Audiences, and was once in company of the King (with sundry of the *Polish* Nobility) feasted by the fore-named Mr: *Gordon*: And from that King obtained (albeit not without reluctancy of his Lords, who complained that our Ambassadors Remonstrances were over-tart) a Mandate Declaratory under the Royall hand and Signet, dated the sixth of *February*, 1635, wherby our Merchants of the *Eastland* Company were promised relief against the molestation of the Stamp or Seal upon their Cloath, procured by the *Dantzigers* during the Wars, and the Suspension thereof untill it might be abrogated in the next ensuing Parliament, the last having beene called for the ratification (onely) of the late Treaty, as was affirmed by their Commissioners, who publickly gave their Faith (*Stipulata manu*) for the disannulling thereof.

*Zavatzkie* sent Ambassador for *England*, and with him *Gordon*.

The King soon after departing from *Dantzic*, his Lordship took leave, not without seeming fairnesse of each side; and the fore-named Lord *Zavatzkie* was designed Ambassador for *England*, pretentionally for proceeding upon the motions, formerly (albeit in a more private way) by himself, in the name and by warrant from the *Polander* propounded to the late King, with whom Agent *Gordon* was associated, and as himself vainly believed, and spared not to give out, with more Trust from that King, then the other.

Their sincerity disproved by his Lordship.

But notwithstanding all these specious shewes, his Lordship was still doubtfull of their true meaning, and advertised home accordingly, yet could he not particularly conclude in whose breast the dissimulation lay: For even they who professed the same Religion with us, and were (at first) most earnest in the pursuance of those motions, were now become as cold as others,

others, albeit they were intimate with that King and of his nearest Counsellors, so as it might seem that their Masters intention, decreed especially in matters so nearly concerning himself, should have been the point of the Compasse by which they were to steer.

Yet (by the way) it may be demanded whether our Ambassadors Suspicions were not causelesse, or whether by his jealousies he did not injure that Prince, and so provoke him justly; wherunto is answered, that the Ambassadors of Poland *Zawatzkie*, when (with *Gordon*) he arrived in England, did not give that full and particular satisfaction which was expected, albeit the Professions outwardly and in generall were as high as ever; so as doubtfull conjectures began upon his arrivall, to be made at Englands Court; and his dismissal was visibly more cold then his reception had been: And considering it was with him that his Lordship made the disrellishing fore-mentioned expostulation, it may be (and was then by sundry) conceived, that the maine part of his Errand was to have bolstered out the former complaint, if he had not been prevented by his Lordships death.

*Suspected in  
England.*

The same appeared more fully afterwards, when it was certainly known that the King of Poland had proceeded even to consummation of things directly contrary to his former propositions, without previous advertisement of his reasons for declining them: in excuse wherof (*Post factum*) he sent the fore-named Lord *Andrea Rey, Starosta de Libonza*, as Ambassador to the late King, who understanding (before his arrival) what his Master had done in prejudice of his own proposalls, would not admit him to his presence, so that he returned without Audience, not being permitted to come higher then *Greenwich*, the Court being then at *Winfor*. Our Agent was also soon after discharged from further Negotiating there, neither hath England (since that time) had any person publickly employed to that Prince or State: By all which circumstances it may be gathered that his Lordship did dive more deep into their intentions, then self-interest and avarice (two maine evils in whomsoever they infect, but most pestilent in publike Ministers) would permit the over credulity of others.

*Made visible  
soone after,  
and*

*Polands Am-  
bassador not  
admitted to  
Audience.*

His Lordship having received Order for his return, began his journey from *Dantzic* the first of *March* (*Old Stile*) and on the thirteenth thereof came to *Damin*, a Town in *Pomerania*, of which, Colonell *Robert Cuninghame* his Kinsman, was Governor for the Crown of *Swethen*, who came forth about two English miles (accompanied with his Officers) to meet his Lordship, and they alighting, he did the like, walking into the Town on foot, where, by the way, his Lordship and the Governour discoursing together, the Officers made relation to us of a certain

*His Lordship  
comes to Da-  
min.*

accident which had hapned in their Garrison the preceding evening, and for the time had caused some disturbance to their thoughts. It was thus.

Portentuous  
accident.

Upon the Eve before, being Saturday, the twelfth of *March* 1638 for the space of neer two houres, between those of eight and ten at night, an unwonted sound of Bells was heard, in the Steeple of that Towns Church (called *Saint Bartholomew*) and the Governour sending to enquire the cause thereof at an undue houre, received answer, That the Church doois were shut: Hereupon the Magistrates were sent for, and Order given that some of the Garrison, with others of the Town Officers, with Torchés lighted, should search the Church and Steeple, to see if there were not some persons concealed, who by such meanes might attempt to give a privy Signall to any Enemy neer hand: But, return being made, that no Person was to be found either in Church or Steeple, nor motion or sound perceived (albeit in the Town the same was heard to continue without intermission during the Search) the Governour caused the Guards to be doubled; kept his owne Souldiers and the Citizens all might in Armes; retained the Magistrates with himselfe; whom (with the inhabitants) he caused to take (*de novo*) an Oath of fidelity to the Crown of *Snethen*.

His Lordships  
Comment there-  
on.

We of the Ambassadors Retinue, hearing this story, accounted it a fiction, more worthy of laughter than of beleif: Entring the Towne, his Lordship was by the Governour entertained at Supper; Colonel *Robert Duglafs*, Commander of a Regiment of Horse in the same service likewise (his Lordships Kinsman) arriving at the same time: At Table, the Governour related the foresaid accident for a most certaine truth, recounting what distractions it had put them into on the Suddaine, whereunto his Lordship replied smiling, you needed not to have been so much troubled, it was but a ceremony to entertaine strangers, your Citizens knew not so well as your Bells that great *Brittaines* Ambassador was to be here this night, that Solemnitie was for my reception: At this discourse some mirth being made and Supper ended, his Lordship, attended by the Governour, and Colonel *Duglafs*, with the other Officers, retired to the Quarter prepared for him, opposite to that of the Governour.

Besides those forenamed there were others present, now living in *England*, who heard this related with the discourse thereupon, and can attest the truth hereof; viz. Generall Major *Christophers Potley* (late in the service of *Englands* Parliament under Sir *William Waller*) then Lievttenant Colonel to the honourable Sir *George Fleetwood* Knight, Colonell of a Regiment

ment of English *Infantrie*; Governour, under the *Suethes*, of the Citie of *E'bing*, and Commander of the strong Fort in an Island of the River *Vistula*; now Lord *Fleetewood*, Baron of *Swanholme* in *Suethland*: As also Mr. *Phillip Freberr* forenamed: Mr. *John Baall* likewise (one of the *Eastland* Merchants) who first divulged the same in *England* upon his repaire thither soone after. This by way of digression may be admitted.

His Lordship, at his rising the next Morning, Complained he was not well; yet went to the Governour (to whom he told so much) and at his instance walked about the Walls to view the new fortifications the Governour had there caused to be made, thinking thereby to have cleered the dulnesse which oppressed him, but could not: At the houre of dinner he sat down with the Governour at Table, but could not eate: Upon serving of the second course he rose up, saying, it behoved him to take some rest, but would not suffer any (save his two Pages) to attend him, Commanding us to stay and accompany the Governour.

*His sickning.*

About foure in the afternoone, the Governour with his other friends and servants went to see how he fared, he Complained much of his head and stomacke; whereupon (unknown to him) a Post was sent to *Gripswaldt* (about six Leagues from *Danin*) for Doctor *John Schener* (whose father had been one of the Physicians to King *James* at his first coming into *England*, knowne by the name of Doctor *Martin*) to Administer to his Lordship: whose distemper (being layed in bed) continued all that night with various purgings.

His Servants entring his Chamber early the next morning, the Governour with Colonell *Duglass*, Leivtenant Colonell *Potley*, and Mr. *Baall* forementioned, repaired thither soon after: We found him in his night Gowne sitting, and leaning at the Table, yet cheerfull in speech, saying, his former paines were eased, and that his head and heart were well, neither did ought (he sayd) trouble him, save onely that his foot was benumbed, which he hoped would soon returne unto its self and feeling; adding, that after a little rest he intended to proceed on his journey that afternoone, and to that end gave order his Coach and Traine should be ready.

Towards the recovery of his foot from its benumbednesse, all meanes were used that could be devised, the forenamed Commander *Potley*, having (out of his affectionate desire of his Lordships recovery) taken great paines therein by chafing of the part affected, but in vaine: His Lordship assaying to have removed to his Bed, which was neer by (saying hee would repose a little) could not support himself, but (sinking) was by his Servants layed in bed about eight in the morning.

We

We left him according to his desire, with some of his Chamber onely to attend him, and returning about two houres after, found him asleep, but drawing his breath so short and high, as gave cause to apprehend it was worse with him then we had imagined; wherupon the Governour with the other Commanders being sent for, they came and found him (to the grief of all) strugling with Death: Being awaked, (for awaked he was by the out-cries of his young Nephew, *William Lockhart*, then present) he would willingly have spoken and declared himself, but could not; he grasped the Youth then kneeling by his bed-side, in his Armes, some words he uttered, but brokenly, in various intermixed Language, out of which the most attentive Listner could gather nothing. In this labouring condition he continued about two houres; the fore-named Physitian arriving when he was even at the extremity of life, which left him between the houres of twelve and one of the same day (being Tuesday the fifteenth of *March*, 1638) to give an account of his Legation here below, before, not his Earthly, but his Heavenly King.

Agony.

Death.

The sudden death of this great Person, for so it may be termed, struck all that were present, but his Kindred and Servants especially, into great consternation of spirits; not one having (for some space of time) a word to utter: At last, necessity so inforcing, the Body was left to be decently layd forth, and a retreat made by all (them of his Chamber excepted) to the Governours Quarter, there to consider what was to be done: In this consultation it was (by the Relator) shewed, that whereas a scrutiny into the things he had there with him, was necessary to be made, whereby due Inventory might be taken for the better satisfaction of those whom (as neereft interessed) it should rightly concerne: There were Papers relating to his publike Negotiations, into which, no inspection was to be made, but that they were to be lockt up apart, and to be delivered onely into the hands of the principall Secretary of State in *England*.

Embalming,  
advertisement  
and

Inventory and  
Mourning con-  
cluded on.

This was, by all, thought meet; and unto him, as having been entrusted with the insight of them whilest he lived, and who had also brought him the conferment of that honourable employment so happily effected; they alone were not committed, but likewise the managing of what was there further to be done: In reference hereunto, the Embalming of the body was first concluded; next, that an Advertisement should be made into *England* for Orders for the dispose therof: And lastly, the putting of his Traine into an Equipage suitable to the sad occasion, in order wherunto, (as also for the reasons pre-  
alleged)

alleged) the inventarying of what he had there about him was resolved, that so it might be seen by what Hinges these motions were to be made.

Order for the speedy Embalming was forthwith given to the Physitian then present, who by a prolix discourse in writing (under his hand) rendred his death Apoplectically, albeit by others not so believed; and the day following the fore-named Master Baall was dispatched for *England*, with Letters of information to the State, with others also to Mr. Joseph Avery then Agent for the late King at *Hamburg*; To those likewise at the *Hague*, to whom it was meet, and lastly to his honourable Friends and Relations (particularly to the Earl of *Ancrum*, to whom he was Brother by the same Venter) as well to give notice of the sorrowfull accident, as to obtaine the more effectually, and speedily such Orders as should be thought requisite for a further proceed; intimation (in that dispatch) being given, that the body (so soon as Embalmed) should by easie journeys be brought down to *Hamburg*, there to expect the same.

Orders for  
small dispose  
required.

Neither was it thought least worthy of care, how to provide a Convoy to secure the body (with what else there) in such a journey, and so broken times: To obtaine the same, Letters were sent to that great Senator the Chancellour of *Swetland*, *Axell Oxenstierne*, who then was at a Town called *Wismar*, not past two or three daies journey from *Danin*, to whom the sad relation was thereby given, and fit convoy desired: Others were likewise dispatched to his Servants, remaining behind at *Dantzic*, and to the Agent there, to inform them of his decease; and to desire their care over those things left in their Custody, to be transported by Sea, that they might be safely forth-coming, to whom they should rightly appertain.

Convoy for se-  
curity desired.

These dispatches made, an Inventory was exactly taken in the view of those fore-named Commanders and others, as also of his own Servants, and so much of money (there found) as was conceived might be necessary, was delivered into the hands of Mr. George Ewin, Steward to his late Lordship, to provide and defray the Mournings with the Domestick, and other incident Charges, and to render account of the whole to whom the same should belong.

Inventory ta-  
ken.

Soon after we received Letters from the Lord Chancellour *Oxenstierne*, wherein he condoled the death of a person whom he had loved living, and from whom his Prince and Country had formerly received faithfull Service, and of late fair Offices; in them was likewise shewed that he had appointed two Troops of Horse of the Regiment of the fore-mentioned Colonell *Duglass*, to safe-guard the body to *Hamburg*, with permission for the said Colonell to accompany the same according to his desire.

Remove com-  
menced.

The Body being Embalmed; the Servants cloathed in Mourning; the Horses, Coaches, and Waggon, Covered all over with black, we set forth from *Damin*; a sad Solemne sight: The Garrison Officers with Sundry others; Severall Commanders and Colonels, as well of English as of his owne Nation, who came thither on purpose to doe honour to the dead, attended the Body a good distance of way without the Town, and then returned; the Governour with Colonel *Duglass* still accompanying the same.

Due Thanks  
rendred to the  
Chancellour of  
Suethen.

When we were come within a League or two of *Wismar* where the Chancellour of *Suethen* then was, the Corps was left to the Care of his other Servants and the Convoy, whilst the forenamed Colonels *Duglass*, and *Coningham*, with this Relator, and the Dutch fornamed Secretarie went thither to Salute and render thanks to that great Senator for his continued respects to our late Lord and Master, not onely whilst living, but likewise being dead, which (was acknowledged) he had amply testified by appointing such a Convoy to secure his relickes and Sorrowfull Servants, who, by his loss, were like Sheepe without a Shepheard, from the insolencies and violences those distracted times might otherwise afford, wherof a faithfull Report, as by gratitude obliged, should not faile to be made: And that, as it was not to be doubted, but the King his Master would make a faire acceptance of that civill respect rendered to the remaines of one, who, in a matter of such concernment as the late Treatie, had represented his Person; So, from the kindred and friends of the deceased; his Excellency might expect a friendly retribution of respects in all such wayes as opportunity or his Excellencies Commands should inable them unto, for his great humanitie expressed to the Ashes of a Relation so neer and deere unto them.

It was further shewed, that it had been some sadnesse to our late Lord, when upon his departure from *Dantzic*, he understood that he could not be permitted to make a journey into *Suehland*, as having no desire more earnest nor more prevalent with him, then, by word of mouth, to have assured her Majesty of *Suehen*, that he still retained the same zealous intentions for her Service, which he had formerly for Sundry yeares, with the hazard of his life and the losse of some blood, testified to her late Royall Father; and that he had not so layd aside his Armes, but that he would alwayes have been willing, and had hope to resume them one day by her Majesties command, and to employ them under her Standard: That not onely those Gentlemen present of his kindred, but all others likewise who knew ought of him, and particularly we his Servants, as having had the honour to be neere unto him

him in the course of his late Negotiation, could subscribe to this truth; Concluding, that if on our parts, who were but meane Persons, incapable of great undertakings, there were ought wherein our Services might be acceptable, in acknowledgment of his great care for our safetie, we should account our selves highly honoured by his Excellencies Commands, which, as we would receive with all due respect, so, to our powers, they should meet with a perfect obedience.

This Office of no more then fitting civility was well accepted by the Lord Chancellour *Oxenstierne*, who returned a faire commemoration of the great abilities and endowments of the deceased Ambassadour; of his Courage, Integrity, and discreet deportment whilest he lived in the Service of their late King, and of his sincere and equitable carriage in the late weighty affaire: He condoled his so soon death, whose life (he said) might have been of good use to the world; and that as they had received formerly proof of his affection toward their Crown and State, so they should no way have doubted its continuance if his life had been longer continued: But that since it had seemed good to the supream Moderator of all things to translate him from this Vale of misery, to those Mansions into which troubles nor sorrow have no admittance: all persons (how neerly soever concerned in him) ought to make an entire submission of their Wills to that All-wise Providence, upon which he exhorted us to rely for comfort in our so great losse. That he honoured his Majesty of Great Brittain, and should be glad if what he had done might find acceptance with him, and that he would prosecute the Friends of the deceased (whom he had loved whilest living) with all reciprocall friendly Offices, and concluded with wishing to us an unmolested proceeding on our journey.

His death condoled by the Chancellour.

He was pleased afterwards to enquire how we intended to dispose of the body, wherunto answer was made, that having advertised into *England* by expresse, we would expect Orders at *Hamburg*.

Upon our taking leave, his Excellency desired that at our arrivall in *England*, his most submissive respects might be tendered to the King, to whose many favours, both to himselfe and his, he acknowledged an exceeding engagement; and withall, desired (that when admitted to the Regall presence) we would make mention of the present low condition of the Protestant Affaires in *Germany*, wherein the interest of his Nephews was so deeply concerned, which their King had Patronized to the losse of his life, and their Crown, the like to the great exhausting both of their Treasure and Men: That the necessities of those Parts now employed his Majesty to rise up their Protector by a vigorous assistance, wherby that which

The Chancellours desire.

had

had with so much sweat and blood, beene wrung out of the hands of the common Enemy, might not again be lost.

*The like formerly  
elsewhere  
intimated.*

The like discourse had been made to this Relator at *Marienburg*, above eight months before by Baron *D'Avaux* the French Ambassadour, who willed him to represent the same unto his Lordship; and added that the King of Great Brittain late then as Umpire over the two maine Interests of the Christian World, and held in his hand the beam of the Ballance, so as the side he inclined unto, must (offorce) over-poise the other, wherof he earnestly desired that his Lordship would advertise the King his Master: Of all which a faithfull relation was then made to his Lordship.

*The Corps  
brought neere  
Hamburg.*

From *Wisnar* we returned (Colonell *Cunningham* there leaving us) to the place where the Corps remained, and thence without disturbance, We came within a mile or two of *Hamburg*, where (once more leaving the body under the same charge as before) Colonell *Duglass*, with the Dutch Secretary formerly named, and this Relator, went into the City to take order for the sad Solemnity of the Funerall Entry, and to see what place had been by Mr. *Joseph Avery* the late Kings Resident there, provided for the Bodies Repository, he having been formerly by Letters solicited therunto, and had accordingly procured a Room in the English House there, with Lodgings for the more neer related Servants.

*The Senate  
advised  
and  
scruple  
about the entrie.*

By him it was also thought convenient to acquaint the Senate of that City therewith, to prevent any mistake or opposition of the entry of those armed Horse, as vve intended: Notice therof being given, a scruple vvas made (as he had foreseen) of admitting the two Troops that conveyed the Body, they affirming, that it vvas a thing never used, and inconsistent vvith their Cities Customes, that any extraneous Forces should enter Armed vvithin their Gates, and that it might prove of dangerous consequence: Reply vvas made, that such a handfull, in so populous and vvell guarded a City, could neither breed danger nor suspicion of any: That vvhat vvas desired vvas onely in honour to the memory of the deceased, and to render the Solemnity more celebrious in a remote Country, vvhere confluence of friends could not be made, as also for the more satisfaction to those Troops that had attended the Corps so far, vvho might think themselves slighted, if not permitted to accompany the same unto the Repository prepared.

It was urged on the other side, that whatsoever came within the limits of their jurisdiction needed no other garde, but was by them (in point of honour) to be protected, neither could they admit of such a President: Thereunto was replied, that their Entrie might be permitted under the name  
of

of his Meniall attendants ( for the more fullnesse of the Ceremonie ) which could be no way derogatorie to their Citie, wherein ( for ought yet knowne to us ) the last obsequies might be performed: That otherwise we would divert to *Attenaw*, a village thereby neer the Sea, but without their precinct, and there retain the same guard: The Senate at last consented to what was desired, conditionally that the Corps being once lodged, the two Troops should immediately retire without the Gates, which also was our desire.

*Yet consented  
unto as desired;*

In Order to the Entrie, direction was sent to those without to move toward the Citie next afternoon, but to make halt within halfe an English mile thereof, whither the *Eastland* Company of Merchant Adventures, with their Deputy and the forenamed Resident, all in long Mourning cloakes, made their repair, as also the honourable Lord *Fleetwood* forementioned, with his said Lieytenant Colonel, and sundry other Commanders of qualitie then in that Citie, who being all come to the place where the Bodie remained, the Advance began; First, the two Troopes moved; next them his Lordships foure saddle Horses, led; covered to the ground with blacke: after those the Body in a Chariot (purposely made) covered with mourning, drawn with six Horses, likewise so cloathed to the ground, attended on each side by his Footmen and other inferiour Servants: The Resident, Master *Joseph Avery* forenamed, followed the Hearse as chiefe mourner ( being a publike Minister from the same Prince ) on his right hand the Deputy of the English Company, Colonell *Duglass* before named on his left; his Lordships Nephew *William Lockhart*, then aged about fifteen years, son to Sir *James Lockhart* by the onely Sister of the deceased Ambassador ( since Colonell, and a Member for his Native Countrey in the two late Parliaments in *England*, and at present one of the Councill of State for *Scotland* ) came next to them, Single; He was followed by the Ambassadors Gentlemen two and two, and next to them his other domesticks, after whom the Merchants in mourning Cloaks, one by one, and each accompanied by a Commander or other Officer; his owne Coach covered, as also the six Horses, with black unto the ground, next came his Callosh or Waggon, which usually carryed his meaner Menie, and last his Baggage, or Rust, Waggon, both covered in like manner, each drawne with foure Horses likewise cloathed with black, closed up the Train.

*Manner of  
Entrie,*

Thus was the Body, by Torch-light, brought through the City to the English House, and there placed in the Room appointed: The Horse immediately retyred, and a Banket prepared for those Commanders and Gentlemen, as well of the Civill as Military function ended the sad Ceremony.

R r r

About

*The Corps disposed of by Order.*

*Servants strangers rewarded, dismissed.*

About two dayes after, for avoyding of trouble to his Servants, as also to the house, by the curiosity of people who hourelly flocked to see the visage of the deceased, there being in the Coffin a Casement, through which his face might be discerned, with part of his bodie, lying in a close Gowne of black damaske, on his head a cap of the same over one of plaine linnen, silke stockings, plaine band and cuffes with white gloves: His Heart and Tongue (well preserved) within a damaske cover, lying under his head, which rested on a damaske covered pillow; the bodie was removed into a close Chappell of the great Church in that Citie, where it remained untill Orders came from *England*, whereupon it was imbarked for *Scotland*, attended by his Steward the forenamed Master *Ewin*, with one page and a Footeman all of that Nation.

All the Dutch Servants (except the forementioned Secretary, who came for *England*) were dismissed, with payment of arreares where any was due, and a gratuity to each according to his place. The Relator was commanded for *England* with the papers that concerned the late Negotiation, which he delivered to Sir *John Coke* Principall Secretary of State.

The Body was (as since informed) received on Shoare at the Port of *Leith* (notice over Land having been sent before) by such-Friends as there accidentally occurred; and, the rest being invited soone after to the last of civill humane dueties, was by a great concourse of honourable company attended, not long after, to the Tombe of his Ancestors; where we will leave him sleeping in his honourable Urne, untill with the society of all Saints he arise to receive his *Engle bone service, &c.*

*His Character.*

He was, certainly, a Man endowed with so worthy Parts as deservedly gained him a good esteeme from three great Kings: In the acquisition thereof he was esteemed fortunate, and the contrary in not being Courtier enough to preserve it; for he dyed under some cloud of his Princes displeasure, by reason of the *Polish* complaint fore-specified; notwithstanding which, had his life been of longer continuance, he had (probably) risen up, a fixed Starr in the firmament of his great Masters favour: And yet from what hath been already sayd it may be confidently conjectured, he would never have proved a perfect Courtier according to those times; for his spirit, free in reprehensions, and sometimes over tart, would have uncausly complied with the wayes of flattery, falsely styled Courtship, over usually practised, and consequently have been unacceptable to the Court Cringers of that time: He was neither prodigall nor greedy of getting; So that his generous mind, void of self-seeking (howbeit not alwaies free from Passion) would never have admitted of the Soyl of avarice

rice or adulation, two Plagues over frequent in the Courts of Princes.

A Period should here be put to this relation, but that it is thought not unmeet to touch (once more) the accident mentioned to have happened in *Damin* the night before his Lordships arrivall there, which was related unto him by the Governour at Table, and albeit, that as then no further notice was taken therof, yet his death ensuing so unexpectedly and suddenly, gave occasion of more serious animadversion therinto afterwards; and upon diligent enquiry, the truth of the thing was asserted, not by the Garrison Officers, and the Governour onely, but by the Inhabitants also: In confirmation wherof, the Relator received, from the Magistrates and Senate of *Damin*, an attestation in writing under the Seal of that Town, the Tenour wherof was in English as followeth.

The portent a-  
foresaid enqui-  
red into and  
asserted.

**W**E the Consuls and Senate of the Towne of *Damin*, do testifie by this present Writing, that on Saturday the twelfth of *March*, the Eve of the Sabbath *Reminiscere*, in which the most Illustrious Lord Ambassadour of Great Brittain, *George Duglass* of honourable memory arrived in our City the year under mentioned, about the Even-tide, from the houre of eight untill within a quarter of ten, a certain pleasing, unwonted, continued, and never before observed sound of the Bells was heard in the Parish Church of *S. Bartholomew*, the night being calm; Wherupon the Noble and Worthy Governour of our Town, Colonel *Robert Cunningham*, as also the generality of the Citizens and Inhabitants therein, were wonderfully astonished and amazed, and the fore-named Governour, according to his care, caused the three Consuls to be called unto him without delay, to know of them whether any such sound had been formerly observed, and commanded the Guards to be doubled: Then, that as into a new thing, more accurate enquiry might be made; it was ordered that the Steeple should be ascended, and a Scrutiny made with Torches lighted, to see if any one were there hidden, who by such a Signall might privily intend some Treachery, yet no man was found in the said Tower,

Attestation  
from the Senate  
of *Damin*.

Attestation  
from the Senate  
of *Damin*.

Tower, but the Bells hanging without motion, the sound neverthelesse was still heard by the Citizens below in the City. The interpretation wherof We leave to the Divine Power, whom We beseech to avert all misfortune from us. In the *interim*, in confirmation hereof We have hereunto set the Seale of our Town: Given at *Damin* in the Dukedome of *Pomerania*, the ninth of *March*, 1636.

This Novelty vvas by Master *John Baill* fore-named (vvhô had been dispatched into *England* the day following the Ambassadors decease) divulged both in Court and City; so as at the return of his Servants into *England*, enquiry concerning the truth thereof was made by many of greatest quality: yea, even the late King, after an account rendred of the manner of his Ambassadors death, as also of what had been desired (as formerly couched) by the Lord Chancellour *Oxenstierna*, demanded whether that report of the Bells were certainly so, and upon sight of the forespecified attestation commanded Mr. Secretary *Coke* that it should be by Master *Weckerlin* turned into English, for his further satisfaction therein, which was accordingly done.

It is now time to dravv toward a conclusion, this discourse having enlarged it selfe further than vvas at first intended, but could hardly have been more restrained amongst so many changes and relative circumstances as may be observed throughout the Triple Narrative.

In the first, vve see *Poland*, from a Dukedome or Principality, erected into a Kingdome, but soon after reverting unto the former Ducall Government, and vveary thereof, remounts unto a continued Elective Regality, neither is at present of small consideration, as being the Bulwark of *Christendome*, on that side, against the incroaching *Turk* and *Tartar*. *Suetland* also (for avoiding the many mischeifs and inconveniencies they had sustained, by parties vvithin themselves, differing about the Election of their Princes) changed into a Hereditary Kingdome in the time of *Magnus Smecke*; and the right Channell failing, remoter streames are either taken or violently thrust in, and upon prejudices flowing thence, are again as fast sluiced out. By publike and generall consent and act of that State, a more direct Succession, in the person and Male Issue of *Gustavus Erickson*, the Vindicator of their liberties from *Danish* bondage, is then entred into; yet that not of long perfect continuance in a descent immediatly consecutive of his three Sons (all there Crowned) *Erick* the eldest succeeds, but for

for misgovernment is not many years after dethroned, and during life incarcerated by his next Brother *John Duke of Finland*, who assumes the Scepter.

And here the profoundest Contemplatist may find a large field for his thoughts to expatiate in, to consider and admire the instability of humane greatnesse; the sandy bottom of the solideest seeming Acts of the most flourishing States: the facility of blasting the wisest and best concentrated counsels of the Sons of men, and overturning the Rock-like appearances of their strongest cemented Constitutions, by that Omnipotent and ever-Adorable Power, through whose Divine permission, things conducing to the unerring ends by him pre-ordained in the Decrees of his Eternall Providence, are brought to passe here below, for the pulling down and setting up of Princes: Sundry examples wherof are set before our eyes even of late years, and particularly in this royal *Gustavian Line*.

\* To *John* and his Heirs the States of *Suethland* by a most solemn Act in the year 1590. confirm the Succession; but hath this ought more of stability?

*Sigismundus* his eldest Son (albeit Crowned in *Suethland*, *An.* 1593.) enjoyes it not, but with his Seed is for ever expelled from that Kingdomes Regall Chaire by Parliamentary Act, in the year 1600. and that expulsion confirmed, *An.* 1604. by a like Act and a renewed reformed Hereditary Union, whereby his Seat and Dignity is conferred upon the Person and Heires of *Charles*, Duke of *Sudermannia*, *Nericia*, and *Wermelandia*, who was Crowned, *An.* 1607. being the youngest Son of *Gustavus Erickson*, and younger Brother to *John* fore-named: But here it may be demanded, albeit *Sigismundus* had forfeited the Crown of *Suethland* both for himselfe and his Posterity, yet what offence had the Prince his Brother *John* (the younger Son of King *John* aforesaid) committed, to be pretermitted in that Elective Hereditary Succession (seeing themselves acknowledge him to be the neereſt; as he was, by how much a Son is neerer then a Brother, or a Brother then an Uncle) and to be induced to rest so contented with the Dukedome of *Ostrogothia*, as to resigne for ever his whole right unto that Crown, unlesse the same should chance to drop upon the head of some one of his Posterity, by the decease of the totall lawfull Male Issue of the new King *Charles* (according to the fore-cited Entail, 1604.) whose second Daughter the Princessse *Mary Elizabeth*, he married, *An.* 1612. Howbeit of him or of any Issue by them we read not: Hereunto for answer is offered, what themselves alledge, and which hath been already touched in their Parliamentary Acts, *An.* 1600. and 1604. *Viz.* His Minority by some years, and that Kingdomes necessity of a Prince of ripe and experienced Judgment,

S. f f

with

Vide Exegetis  
Historica, page  
350.

with their apprehension of his entring (through prevalency of naturall affection) into such Covenants with his Brother King *Sigismundus*, or his Heirs, as might be destructive (to their present King) his Uncle *Charles* and his Family; as also his owne voluntary resignation of his Interest in the *Suethish* Crowne unto his said Uncle (as fore-cited) *An. 1604.* which againe confirmed and fully concluded at *Orobrogia, An. 1605.* We may lastly add what themselves do there likewise assert; That forasmuch as the most Illustrious Prince Duke *John*, had at the time of the Regall Coronation (of his Uncle) attained unto the nineteenth year of his age, and so might well discern of those things which concerned his Interest; they were therefore confident that his Highnesse could not (deservedly) impute ought unto them, and the rather, if he should with them duly animadvert into such examples as might, in like case, be derived from other Kingdomes and Kingly Families, which do abundantly testifie, that sundry have been ejected from their Hereditary Jurisdiction, and others of the same Family surrogated in their stead, for causes lesse weighty then those whereby they had been therunto moved.

That they had seriously considered what that conjuncture of time, chiefly in that most afflicted state of their Countrey required: *Viz.* Such a Governour, as could with prudence steer the Kingdomes Helme, which unlesse speedily provided for, utter ruine would have thence overflowed the whole Kingdom. Moreover, that they had been compelled by those dangerous and subite (Plots, or) Machinations which on every side threatned their Countrey, to choose him for their Lord, their King, and Governour, who was endowed with Prudence, Experience, and maturity of years meet for so weighty a charge.

King *Charles*, after ten yeares of a laudable Raigne, paying the debt that all men owe to nature, whereunto by the Eternal decree of the Almighty, the most Potent Princes, as well as the poorest Peasants are equally subject; his Son *Gustavus Adolphus* succeeded and was Crowned King of the *Suethes, Gotthes, and Vandals, &c. An. 1617.* He was, as aforesaid, cut off in the strength of his years, being about the eight and thirtieth of his age, *An. 1632.* at that fatall field of *Lutzen*: yet a day so glorious to his Fame, as all Military men may (in like case) desire.

The yeare ensuing his translation from the toiles of this to the Joyes of a better world, a Parliament convened at *Stockholme*, the heads wherof (as by them couched in seven Articles) I shall here touchat and referr the further curious unto the Act it selfe.

In that Assembly, the Senators, Peeres, Earles, Lords, Bishops,

Bishops, Gentry, Clergie, Military, Officers, Citizens and Commonalty, After a sad Commemoration of their unrecoverable losse, by the death of their late Sovereigne, whom they tearme their head, their King, their Father, and *Pater Patriæ*, under whose most excellent Raigne, they, above other Nations, had lived in safety and tranquility: And that, to the aggravation of their misery, they were destitute of Heirs-Male proceeding from his loynes to possesse his Fathers Seat, whereby their and the Kingdomes care and danger was the greater; upon due consultation of the best conducement to the Kingdomes good; They declare, that, by the help of their Almighty, and in the Name of the blessed Trinity, they had decreed, confirmed, and established.

**I***mprimis*, That his late Majesty having left no Heire Male, 1. Article.  
nor any Children of any Hereditary Prince which might succeed according to the Laws and Constitution of the Realme: They did approve of and confirme the Act formerly concluded at *Norcopia*, An. 1604. concerning the Daughters of their Kings and Heir-Princes, at the renovation of their Hereditary Union: In reference whereunto, as also to the Act concluded at *Stocholme* the fourth of December, An. 1627: in case his Majesty should happen to decease; They did thereby unanimously establish and confirme, as also advisedly, freely, and without constraint, declare and pronounce, *The High and Mighty Princessse Christina*, Daughter of his renowned Majesty *Gustavus Adolphus*, the Second and Great King; *Queen of the Swethes, Goths, and Vandalls*; lawfully chosen: as also Hereditary Princessse, Great Dutchesse of *Finland*, Dutchesse of *Esthonia*, and *Carelia*, their most deer and gracious Queen: And did by these presents oblige themselves, &c. with all the Inhabitants of the Kingdome, and Subjects thereof, to render to her Majesty all true and due Service and Obedience; and did Inaugurate and establish her sayd Majesty in whatsoever in righteousness they might be answerable for before God and Man; so that she had full power and authority to command them in all things. They likewise confirmed and ratified the Lawes of the Realm for her Majesty: And further obliged themselves to stand for her Majesties safety, her good and welfare, as well as for that of the Kingdome, even to the danger of their lives and losse of their goods. Provided that her Majesty, when shee should attaine to perfect years and full possession of the Government of the Kingdome, did secure unto them and the whole State, whatsoever might concerne the maintaining of all their Lawes, Liberties, and Priviledges, &c. as the like had been done by former Kings, especially by her late Royall Father, and had by the State of the Kingdome been approved.

Secondly,

2. *Article.* Secondly, that if any *Suethe* or other, subject to the Crown therof, of what degree, dignity, or quality soever, should refuse to subscribe and submit to this establishment, or dare to oppose their present Act, or seek to advance any other, whether native or forraigner: They did esteem and declare that party to be a member separated from their body; an Enemy, yea, Traytor to the Kingdome, and upon conviction of a Crime of that nature, to be punished without mercy.

3. *Article.* Thirdly, They confirmed and ratified the Acts formerly concluded against King *Sigismundus* with his Children and Descendants; and declared them to have no right or interest in the Crown of *Suetland*, or any part of the Dominions. or Jurisdictions therto belonging: and that all their right and pretensions were lost, void, forfeit, and in the lapse for ever: And that if any *Suethe* or other person under that Crown, should endeavour the admittance of any of the aforesaid into the Kingdome, or to yeeld them any footing within the Jurisdictions, or upon the Frontiers therof: They would hold that person (of what quality soever he were) for a pernicious and hainous Traytor to them and to the whole State: And upon perseverance therin should meet with the mercilesse punishment due to such a one: And that whosoever should listen unto, or harbour, or lodge, any such person without timely discovery unto Authority, should be liable to the like punishment: As also that the *Orobrogian* Acts of February, 1617. against all such, should remain as inviolable, as if they were here (*Verbatim*) expressed: And all Lords, Judges, and other Officers, were to see execution and performance of the same, as he would otherwise answer it at his perill.

4. *Article.* Fourthly, That they unanimously and deliberately confirmed and renewed what had been formerly enacted concerning the Service of God and his Church by other Assemblies and Diets, and did generally oblige themselves to remaine in the same Form, Truth, and Discipline of Religion, according to the Revealed truth of Gods holy Word, and the Articles of Christian Faith contained in the Apostolical, *Nicene*, and *Athanasian* Creed, together with the Confession of *Auspurg*, and as formerly concluded in the Counsell of *Vissill*.

5. *Article.* Fifthly, That in regard of the Queens under age and insufficiency therby to defend and govern the Realm by her owne self and ability: They did unanimously desire and ordaine, that his Majesties Decree and Ordinance concerning this matter (formerly committed to the Counsell and Lords of the State, for their judgment and the conceiving of a right Order therupon, which had been also by them tendred unto, and approved of by his Majesty, but by reason of his suddain death and other occasions impeding, had not had its full effect, notwithstanding

withstanding their want of sundry necessary instructions and appurtenances which through straitnesse of time could not be inserted ) should be put in execution, and performed for the good of the Realme, by the five cheif States and Officers therof; *Viz.*

1. The Lord high Steward.
2. Marshall.
3. Admirall.
4. Chancellour.
5. Treasurer.

And in the absence of one, or other, or of any, the eldest of the Counsell of State, to supply the place: And these five to govern the Kingdome of *Suethen* for her Majesty, untill shee should have attained perfect years. And they five, or (as aforesaid) the eldest of the Counsell of *Stockholme*, being of the same Colledge and Assembly, supplying the place of any of them absent, should have the Tutition of the Queen, and should bear rule during her Minority and Nonage, onely in her name and stead, without prejudice to the Realm or State, or violation or breach of the Lawes, Rights, and Priviledges therof: And should for her Majesty powerfully maintain the five Brotherly Offices and State Ranks: That is, Court-right Counsell, Counsell of War, Admiralty, Chancery, and Treasury, or Exchequer, according to the institution and establishment of former Kings, and especially of their late King *Gustavus* the second: And should to their power uphold and maintain the Rights, Lawes, Justice, and Policy of *Suethen*; Defend and protect the Realm with all the dependencies thereon; so as they might conscientiously answer before God, the Queen, and the State, when therunto called, as those by Oath were therunto obliged: So, on the other side, the Lords and Peers of the Realm did promise to yeild and perform unto those persons Selected, as aforesaid, all due respect, honour, obedience, and submissive Subjection, in whatsoever they should require and command, tending to the Glory of Almighty God, the good and welfare of the Queen, of the State, and Common-weale: And that in case any person, or persons, should either in word or deed thwart and oppose the present proceeding and government; They would with all their powers endeavour to suppress such Insolencies, punish the parties, and constrain them to better obedience.

Sixthly, They would to their utmost prosecute the War against the Emperor and Popish League in *Germany*, which their King had sealed with his blood, untill it should please Almighty God to settle a happy and desired Peace for the good of his Church: As also the Kingdomes necessity so requiring, whether by reason of their present Wars, or of any new Enemies

6. Article.

against their Queen and State, they would with their lives and Fortunes maintain their Rights and Liberties, and with their utmost abilities oppose all such as should confront or withstand their proceedings.

7. Article.

Seventhly, That forasmuch as no Kingdome could subsist without meanes, or War be rightly managed without great charges, They did likewise thinke good that the

Tolls and Customes should be continued for the good of the Kingdome, in the same manner as then raised and received &c.

Moreover; If the Germane War should continue; Or if their Kingdome and Countrey should fasten upon some other War or trouble: They did promise and oblige themselves, that whensoever required by the Peeres, States, and Lords of the Realme. They would with all their power and meanes stand and fight, for the Religion, Queen, Kingdome and Liberties.

That, in all the particulars before specified, they were resolved, and had unanimously, generally, and particularly, in their owne, and in the behalfe of their brethren, present and absent: as well unborne as borne, freely and willingly consented, agreed, approved, and concluded, and therein sufficiently accorded, and did promise as faithfull, religious, and true sincere meaning Subjects, to performe the same: They the Councell, State, &c. of *Sueden*, did underwrite and seale the premises at *Stockholme* the fourteenth of *March* 1633.

Thus was the young *Princessse Christiana*, then aged about seven yeares, designed *Queene of Swethes, Goths and Vandalis &c.* as before fully expressed; conforme to what had been decreed in her Fathers time, at the forespecified *Stockholmian* Parliament, *An.* 1627. Her Person and Kingdome was governed by the Tutors untill the yeare. 1650. in which she was Crowned, and hath since (in a continued single condition) swayed that Scepter more absolutely: the Surname of *Augusta* may be (not unduely) attributed unto her, for certainly that *Princessse*, happy in a wise Councell and valiant Commanders, hath done great things, and for many yeares (since her Fathers death) hath held up the Bucklers, against the Imperiall and Austrian Forces, even in the heart of the Empire, and left it unconstrained with honourable conditions both for her selfe and her Allies.

And albeit, from what hath been shewed in the late Treatie, it may be gathered that She could not from the Successours of King *Vladislaws*, her contemporary in *Poland*, expect any assured Peace, notwithstanding a due observation on her part, of what had been at *Stumbsdorff* transacted; by reason of their pretensions to the *Swethish* Crowne, which they were not willing

ling at any hand to relinquish : Yet, upon that Kings death, and solicitation by the two younger Princes, *John Casimir*, and *Charles Ferdinand* his Brothers, made unto her, She out of a magnanimous mind (toward Princes of the same blood) did recommend unto the States of *Poland* and the Great Dukedome of *Lithuania*, that regard might be had unto them in their Election of a new King, but pressed more particularly the promotion of *John Casimir*, as being the Elder, who accordingly was Crowned; yet did he not afterwards render (as the *Suetes* assert) the hoped for returne of those faire Offices; for further satisfaction wherein, the Reader is referred to the *Manifesto* by them lately published.

But this Princeesse, borne, bred, and habituated to raigne, hath in one late action outstript all her former; by resigning, uncompeled that the World hath heard of, that Crown and Kingdome unto her Kinsman, the present King : A concession to be admired, and which after Ages will (perhaps) account rather fictitious than true : Examples of such great voluntary renunciations seldome hapning amongst men : nor doe we reade of more than two; *Dioclesian* a Heathen divested himselfe of the Imperiall Wreath : *Charles* the fifth likewise, after a forty years Regall, and thirty six years Imperiall Domination, in the fifty and sixth of his age, surrendred his Kingdomes to his Son *Phillip*, and the Empire to his Brother *Ferdinand* : But from the weaker Sex, which by how much it is so, is the more avidously tenacious of Power, by what meanes soever acquired, as Histories Divine and humane doe testifie, none to be excepted, nor any equall President to be produced.

Neither had this Lady those motives which may be conceived to have induced that great Emperor last named, to quit his severall Soveraignties, thereby to live eternally in the memories of men; As the neernesse of Relations mentioned, his advance into years, under the burthen of such occasions as could not but render him sensible of having received (as he had caused unto others) infinite toiles and troubles, having undergone nine Voyages into *Germany*, six into *Spaine*, seven into *Italy*, foure into *France*, ten into the Low Countreys, two into *England*, two into *Affrica*, besides eleven times traversing the maine Ocean. Certainly, He having been mostly Succesful in continued Wars, might be apprehensive of a Reverse of fortune, and therfore not unwilling to prevent it, as he did, by a Monasticall Retirement.

But this Princeesse never exposed to personall hazards, hath denuded her selfe of a Royalty, and therwith invested her neereft Kinsman, yet more remote then either a Son or a Brother.

ther. What Women do we read of that ever refused ought of Glorious? Much lesse doth History record any Princeesse, who in the prime of her years hath freely relinquished a long continued, hereditary devolved Possession of a Diadem, this Lady excepted, who by this Conquest over her self, hath achieved a greater then by all her Commanders she ever could, which happily may incite some accurate Pen to afford the World an *Elogium* befitting the Magnanimity of that Act in one of the fairer Sex; then which former Ages have not preduced a more lofty Subject wheron to ground the Gallantry of a Discourse.

That Queen hath (all along) demonstrated a good inclination to preserve a faire correspondency with *England*, even in the heat and height of its late troubles; In *An. 1644*. Shee sent Mr *Hugh Mowet* her Agent to the Parliament then sitting, in which publike Ministry he was employed about two yeares: Neither did he make (in all that time) the least addresse or application elsewhere: Several subsequent entercourses have (since) continued the Amity between this and that Nation: Neither have her respects, as well to our present Government, as to the Person of his Highnesse the LORD PROTECTOR, been obscurely testified by her solempne Reception and honourable Entertainment of the Right Honourable the Lord *Whitlock*, late Ambassadour Extraordinary in *Suetland*, and by her faire compliance with what desired for the good of both Nations, which having concluded, and as witnessing to the World, that Shee would Dignifie that Act by rendering it the last of her Raigne, shee soon after resigned her Kingdome, Crown, and Scepter, unto

*CAROLUS GUSTAVUS* the present King of *Suetes*, *Gothes*, and *Vandals*, Great Prince of *Finland*, Duke of *Esthonia* and *Carelia*, Lord of *Ingria*, who hath ratified the same, and settled a future good understanding between the Realmes of *England*, and *Suetland*, by a most Solempne and Magnificent Embassie: He was borne in *Ostrogothia* about the year, 1620. if information erre not: Son to the most Illustrious Prince *John Casimir*, Duke of *Zwey Bruchie* (descended from the Electorall House Palatine) and of the most Illustrious Princeesse *Catherina*, eldest Daughter to the often fore-named *Charles* the ninth, King of *Suetland*, and half Sister to the Great *Gustavus Adolphus*: He was in *England*, *An. 1640*. since which time he hath been Generalissimo of all the *Suetish* Forces in *Germany*, and there gave beginning to those great expectations of himselfe, which have rendred him the desire of the *Suetes*, who have Crowned him their King, in *An. 1654*: He was (as I have been informed) entitled to that Kingdome by Act of that Nations Parliament, in the year, 1650. if the then Queen *Christina* should decease without lawfull Male Issue.

His



CAROLVS

GVSSTAVVS

King of Swethens, Goths, & Vandalls, greate  
prince of Finland, Duke of Esthonia, & Carelia,  
Lo.<sup>d</sup> of Ingria. & Crowned An.<sup>o</sup> Dom.<sup>o</sup> 1654.

P. S. sculpsit



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His early great Commencements, as well before as since his Exaltation to that Crown, do promise an equall progresse and the addition of *Semper* to his sur-name of *Gustavus*, which (*literis transpositis*) is *Augustus*, for a perpetuating of the Glory of that *Gustavian* Line, unto whose name and Scepter he hath so happily succeeded, as his late Armed Entry into *Poland*, and Successe hitherto may seem to witnesse. The Motives that induced him therunto, the Curious may read in his Letter to the present Emperour *Ferdinand* the third, dated from *Wolgast* in the month of *July*, of the year curreant, 1655.

his Act hath  
not come to my  
hands, other-  
wise the Heads  
therof had been  
particularized.

But leaving this Digression. In the Treaty of Pacification, continued Vicissitudes may be seen; sometimes hopes of accommodation, other whiles nothing but present rupture to be expected, about empty Airey Titles, or not much more: And when things seeme most desperate, and without mediate meanes of reconcilement, the stiffer Partie comes fairely to hand by a gentle compliance. We may observe, the Mediators turne Parties for precedencie and formalities, which, in a just valuation, what amount they unto? thereby necessitating (in a manner) the Parties to become Mediators and so make compensation for Offices received: In its Signature how little trust is to be imputed to the assurances of great ones, doe they not measure observation of promises by the rule of Interest or selfe pleasing.

Observations  
on the Treaty.

In the Ambassadors life we may see one nobly descended, sprung from a race of Ancestors honoured by Illustrious Antiquity, yet not unnecessitated to pursue the advance of his Fortunes amidst those dangers that attend the honourable Military Profession; and having in some degree attained to the favour of his Royall Generall, falls twice under the displeasure of that Greatnesse, the frown whereof, according to the wisest of men bringeth Death: And yet, the same Person againe buyed up by a hand equally powerfull, Ascends to be what he expected not, an Umpire between Kings and Crowns; But what Merit can there be toward Princes? their turns once served, their ends compassed; do they stick to kick up the heels of those, whose assistance (they but a little before) thought advantageous unto them? He falls at last under the undeserved displeasure of two mighty Monarchs, into his Grave; and, as having no more to do here below, removes to render an account of the whole Negotiation of his life above.

On the Amba-  
sador.

Great begin-  
nings,

Have not al-  
waies equall  
endings.

What shall We conclude upon the whole? What shall We call these Greatnesses so subject to mutability? *Splendida Miseria*? Such indeed they are: And We may shut up all with that Ingemination of the Wise man; *Vanity of Vanities, Vanity of Vanities; All is but Vanity and Vexation of Spirit.*

Mutual Great-  
nesses, gliswing  
Misery.

U u u

As

As to that Honourable Person deceased, who acted in that Treaty, and whom this present Narrative doth particularly concern, We are not without warrant to gather a Christian confidence of his Residence in those Mansions of durable Blessednesse, which admit of no more change; seeing he died not onely in the pursuance, but in the effecting and preserving of Peace. For we have it asserted by the Divine Word, God-Man; *That blessed are the Peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.* If such be not, who can be eternally happy?

Happy closure.

*The Memory of the Just shall remaine for ever.*

*The Righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.*

## FINIS.

\* The Courteous Reader is desired, for what vendred amisse in the Book and here expressed, to have regard to the present emendation; other errors of lesse moment (not contradicting the sense) are remitted to the favourable correction of the Ingenious Inspector.

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